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GLEANINGS

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ANTIQUITIES.

CONTAINING,

I. An Essay for Explaining the Creation and the Deluge, according to the Sense of the Gentiles. In a Letter to a Learned Person.

II. A Discourse of Oracles, giving an Account of the *Sibylline* Oracles; with an uncommon Explication of *Virgil*'s Fourth Eclogue, and some other Parts of his Works relating to them.

To which is Added,

An Account of the Oracles delivered at *Delphos*, and in the other Temples of the Gentiles; and of the Rise and Cessation of Oracles, both among the Jews and Gentiles.

III. Some Notes concerning Familiar Spirits.

By John Beaumont, *Gent.*

Anxius inquiro sepelit quæ longa Vetustas,
Eruo quæ tacitis obsoluêre libris.
Multaque, dum meditor, muti docuêre Magistri;
Queis fruor, & sine queis, nil mihi dulce foret.

LONDON;

Printed for W. Taylor, at the *Ship* and *Black-Swan* in *Pater-noster-Row.* M.DCC.XXIV.

DEVON & EXETER INSTITUTION

R.B.R.
B379G

To the Honourable

Richard Edgecombe Esq;

SIR,

AMong all the Amuſements this World affords, Men of the ſtrongeſt Inſtincts have found none more charming, than a Purſuit of Knowledge: *Gravis*

vis * *eſt Sitis bonarum rerum cui ſola fruendi aſſiduitas Medicinam facit.* And as I have always indulg'd a ſtudious Life, and have lately gathered together a few Gleanings of Antiquities, which contain ſome Matters beſide the common courſe of Learning; and, as I conceive, highly worthy an inquiry into: I have now thought good to make them publick, and humbly inſcribe them to your Name. And tho' your honourable Station in the Government may much engage your Thoughts, I am inclined to think, the Nature

* Symmachus Epiſt. L. 3. Ep. 46.

of

of the Subjects I treat of, may be an inducement for you, at some leisure Minutes, to take a transient View of them. And if some Particulars in what I have written may seem obscure, as indeed they would not admit of an open unfolding; I shall always be ready to attend your Commands for explaining them in the best manner I may: being,

SIR,

Your most Humble,
Most Obliged, and
Most Obedient Servant,

JOHN BEAUMONT.

The following ERRATA *ought to be corrected before Perusal.*

PAge 10. l. 34. read *Heptaplus.* p. 12. l. 33. r. celebrate. p. 16. l. 12. r. *mentes.* *ib.* l. 20. r. of the Deluge. *ib.* l. 30. r. *Asia.* p. 33. l. 8, 21, 23. r. *Aubury.* *ib.* l. 23. r. *grett.* p. 68. l. 29. r. *Peucer.* p. 80. l. 21. r. ὠδῖνας. p. 83. l. 3. r. *Orgiis.* p. 93. l. 33. r. ὕλης. p. 98. l. 29. r. we might. p. 101. l. 17. r. *despiciet.* p. 103. l. 11. r. *Vota mea.* p. 106. l. 1. blot out the Poet says. p. 133. l. 27. after Age, add, after the Flood. p. 140. l. 11. blot out *an.* *ib.* l. 30. r. to the. p. 141. l. 27. r. to sit under. p. 144. l. 26. r. stand. p. 163. l. 9. r. Impostures. p. 164. l. 15. r. having. p. 153. l. 15. r. a little before. p. 193. l. 35. r. Analect. H. 4. b. p. 203. l. 1. r. *Hirsaug.*

AN

ESSAY

FOR

Explaining the Creation and the Deluge, according to the Senſe of the GENTILES: *where a tranſient Notice is taken of the various Hypotheſes have been ſet up for explaining them.*

In a LETTER to a Learned Perſon.

SIR,

HAPPENING lately to be preſent where a Diſcourſe was offered concerning Matters of the moſt remote Antiquity, *viz.* the Creation, the Deluge, the *Chineſe* Chronology, *&c.* and having drawn together ſome Conjectures thereunto relating, I adventure to publiſh them in this Letter to you; hoping

I may receive your Thoughts (which I greatly value) concerning them; as likewiſe thoſe of ſome other Perſons, who may have conſidered theſe Matters: which, the greater and more antient they are, become the more liable to the Diſcourſe of all Ages. No Nation in the Univerſe has come to our knowledge, which has ſo much amuſed and amazed the Chriſtian World, as that of *China*; and this eſpecially on the account of its Chronology, that Nation having kept, from the Beginning of their Government, unexceptionable Records of Times and Tranſactions, far beyond thoſe of any other Nation.

Some will have it, that only the Nation of the *Hebrews* knew their own Antiquity, and that of all other Nations; that, with the latter, all antient Tranſactions were uncertain and fabulous; whereas the *Hebrews* knew the Origin of all things, and even the Age of the World itſelf, and have recorded them in their Writings: that where the Sacred Hiſtory ends, the Hiſtorical Time of the *Gentiles*, *Chaldeans*, *Greeks* and *Romans* begins; that is, a little before the *Babylonian* Captivity: for from thence begins the *Æra* of *Nabonaſſar*, that of the *Olympiads*, and that of the building of *Rome*. And it's obſervable, that theſe three famous *Æra's* began, in a manner, at the ſame time; that is, within an Age, or a few Years, one of the other: for, according to learned Chronologers, the *Epocha* of *Nabonaſſar* began *An. Mundi* 3257, before *Chriſt*, *An.* 747. that of the *Olympiads*, *A. M.* 3228, before *Chriſt*, *An.* 776. that of the building of *Rome*, *A. M.* 3256, before *Chriſt*, 748. So that before theſe Times, all things were, in a manner, meer Ignorance and Darkneſs.

And many learned Men have thought, that *Moſes* is the Perſon from whom all the ſecret Meanings of the Fables, or the Truths corrupted by the Fables, among the *Gentiles*, are to be ſought; they not being to be explained but by the *Hebrew* Antiquities, tho ſome

ſome are of opinion, that the *Hebrews* took moſt of their Rites and Learning from the *Egyptians.*

What we have received from *Moſes*, has been handed down to us by ſuch Authority, that it is not free for thoſe who have been trained up under the Engagement of his Books, to call in queſtion the Truth of the Time there denoted for the Creation, the Deluge, or any other Matters therein contained; tho it may be obſerved that *Moſes* does not tell us whence he had taken what he had written concerning the Creation, the Deluge, the *Antediluvian* Patriarchs, *&c.* or that he had it from any publick Records of a Nation or People, (the *Chineſe* Affairs being all ſo recorded) but delivers all meerly upon his own Authority; tho *Father Simon*, at the end of his *Critical Hiſtory on the Old Teſtament*, in a Catalogue of Books there annex'd, tells us of a Book written by *Abrauanel*, intituled, *Miphaboth Elohim*, *The Works of God*, printed at *Venice* about the Year 1545. in 4*to.* where he treats learnedly concerning the Creation of the World, and withal examines whence *Moſes* took what is written in the Book of *Geneſis:* which Book I could wiſh we had; tho, I ſuppoſe, *Abrauanel* goes there upon the ſame Principles he does in his Preface to his Commentary on *Joſhua*, where he ſays, Thoſe they call Scribes, or Prophets, among the *Jews*, took care to gather together what paſſed in the State, and did not only write the Hiſtory of their Times, but took all the liberty of adding or diminiſhing what they thought proper to the Memoirs of the other Prophets that had preceded them. And *Father Simon*, in his ſaid *Critical Hiſtory*, *l.* 1. *c.* 2. tells us, That the greateſt part of the Sacred Books that are come to us, are but Abridgments or Summaries of the antient Acts that were kept in the Archives of the *Hebrews.* And *Abrauanel* is of opinion, that thoſe Books being reviewed by the *Sanhedrim*, or other Perſons divinely inſpired, had all the Authority neceſſary that could

be desired in an Affair of this importance; and he is so far persuaded of the Truth of his Principle, that he dares deny, against the Sense of the Doctors in the *Talmud*, that *Joshua* and *Samuel* were the Authors of the Books that bear their Names; and says, that *Samuel* was the Author of the Book of *Joshua* and *Judges*; and that the Books of *Samuel* and *Kings* were written by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, who, according to him, compiled them from the Memoirs of *Samuel*, *Nathan*, *Gad*, and the other Prophets or publick Writers that lived before him.

However this may be, it must be observed that *Father Simon*, in his Answers to the Objections made by Mr. *Spanheim* and Dr. *Dupin* against his *Critical History*, owns that he cannot apply to the Book of *Genesis* what has been said of the way of registring publick Acts in the time of *Moses*; and says, that the History of the Creation, the Deluge, and in a word, of all the Facts and Genealogies comprized in *Genesis*, are simply related, as if *Moses* had taken them from some authentick Books, or had them by some certain Tradition, as *Eusebius* says he had them by Tradition from his Ancestors; it not being mentioned in all *Genesis* that God dictated to *Moses* what is there related, or that he received it by the Spirit of Prophecy.

I am not ignorant that *Manasseh Ben-Israel*, in his 6th *Problem* concerning the Creation, is of a contrary Opinion to what is before delivered, concerning the Knowledge of *Moses* as to what he has writ of the Creation: and because I love to be open in what I write, and to give the full Strength of what is writ against any Opinion I may be inclined to follow; I shall here give you what he writes in this Problem, which is thus proposed:

Whether Moses *invented the History of the Creation of the World of his head, or whether he had the Knowledge of it by Tradition or Revelation?* And on this head, he writes

writes as follows: Man's Understanding inclines more to believe that the World was from Eternity, than that at some time it had a Beginning; and therefore it could not be that *Moses* feign'd the Creation of the World from his own Head: For will any Man's Mind dictate to him, that the World was created in the space of six Days, and no more, nor no less? Who, of set purpose, would feign that the World was made at certain Intervals of Time; since it seems to make more for the Glory of God's Power if it be said, the World was made in an Instant? And who would imagine that the Heavens were first created without Stars, and that they were adorned with them on the fourth Day? What judicious Mind can conceive that the Plants were created on the third Day, and the Sun on the fourth Day; since naturally they receive their Vegetation from the Rays of the Sun? What Reason dictated that a whole Day was spent in the Creation of the Fishes and Fowls, and not a whole and entire one was spent in the Creation of the most perfect Being, *viz.* Man; but he was created in one and the same Day with mute Animals? Who, of his own head, would feign such a Story as that of *Adam*, *Cain*, *Abel*, and and the whole Series of all the Generations? Wherefore I conclude that *Moses* could not, from the Invention of his own Head, describe the Way and Manner of the Creation; much less can it be understood that *Moses* had the Knowledge of those things which he writ concerning the Creation from the Tradition of Ancestors. For tho you suppose the Tribes of *Israel* received those things handed down, as it were, to them from *Jacob*, *Jacob* from *Sem*, *Sem* from *Noah*, *Noah* from *Methusalem*, and he from *Adam*; yet a Doubt will always remain, by what way they came to know all those things that were done before, in the space of six Days, since *Adam* himself, who is to be made the first Fountain and Origin of this Tradition,

tion, was created at laſt, on the ſixth Day. Add to this, that if *Moſes* had known thoſe things by Tradition, the ſame things would not have been unknown to many Nations and People.

Wherefore we muſt neceſſarily ſay, that the Creation of the World was revealed to *Adam*, and that his Poſterity received it by Tradition from him. But becauſe it was not fit that a thing of ſo great weight ſhould rely on the Authority, Credit and Teſtimony of one Man; therefore God, in the ſecond place, appeared to *Moſes*, and gave a clear Aſſurance of this thing to all the People in Mount *Sinai*, commanding the Obſervance of the Sabbath, that it might appear by a certain Memorial, that the World was created in ſix Days, and that God reſted on the ſeventh.

Now it remains for us only to explain why *Moſes*, in deſcribing the Creation of the World, does not declare that he received it, by Revelation, from God himſelf: for the Explication of which thing, what follows may contribute. The Prophecy of *Moſes* was by ſo much the more worthy, and exceeding the Prophecy of all the other Prophets, that to theſe, at the time they received the Prophecy, only the Senſe, or the thing comprehended in the Prophecy, was revealed, but they deliver'd that Thing, or Senſe, in their own Words to the People; and for that reaſon, they uſed this Form of ſpeaking, *And the Lord ſpake to me*, *And the Lord ſaid to me:* as tho they would ſay, Thoſe things we deliver, tho we expreſs them with our own Words; yet they have the Senſe which we have received from God himſelf. But to *Moſes* not only the things were prophetically delivered, but together with them the very Words alſo, with which they were to be delivered, were dictated; and this is the Cauſe that *Moſes*, when he delivers thoſe Revelations, does not ſpeak otherwiſe than if a third Perſon ſpake, relating thoſe things which God had commanded,

manded, and which *Moſes* himſelf had done: whence are thoſe Forms of ſpeaking, *And the Lord ſpake to* Moſes, *And the Lord ſaid to* Moſes. From hence appears a Solution of the Doubt after this manner: Since the Scripture, as a Type, and Character, relates things themſelves as they are, and ſo is bound to follow in relating the Hiſtory of Things, the Order and Series of Time in which each Thing began, or was done; it would be abſurd and very incongruous, that in the Hiſtory of the Creation of the World, which was 2000 Years before *Moſes*, a mention ſhould be made of *Moſes*; for ſo it would be ſaid that *Moſes* propheſied before he was born: which ſince it is abſurd, the Scripture begins with an admirable Wiſdom and Order from the Creation of the World, which was made in ſix Days, and follows it on from the Birth of *Adam* and his Poſterity, to *Moſes*; and from that time, as often as it mentions *Moſes*, it ſtill relates his Prophecy in that ordinary Phraſe, as tho ſome third Perſon related it. Therefore we conclude it much more credible, that, tho it may be granted he received the Creation of the World by Tradition, yet that the ſame was revealed to him afterwards by God, and after the Way and Manner as the ſame is deſcribed. Many and great Reaſons make for this Opinion, which ſhall be brought by me elſewhere at large. So far *Manaſſeh Ben-Iſrael.*

Here we ſee this Author oppoſes what is ſet forth before, and I ſhall leave it to the judicious Reader to conſider the Weight of what he has delivered, without adding to what is ſaid before: As for the great Reaſons which he ſays he ſhall ſomewhere give us to ſupport his Opinion, I cannot find them in any Book of his which has come to my hands. I hoped to have found them in his *Conciliator* on *Geneſis*, but they are not there; tho poſſibly they may be in the *Addenda* to that Book, which he has ſince publiſhed, and which I have not ſeen. But wherever they are, I doubt

doubt they will prove but *Rabbinical Reaſons*; and I ſhall now proceed on my Matter.

When we conſider that *Moſes* intimates a time for the Creation, it may be proper to obſerve, that all the *Gentiles* (the *Chineſes* not excepted) held the World to have been from Eternity, either in the preſent State it is, adorned with Animals, Vegetables and Minerals; or in a Chaodical or Atomical State, from which afterwards it was brought to Perfection: for by their natural Light they could not attain to the Knowledge of a Creation, which is a ſupernatural Act, but held to their Maxim, *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* And it has been the Opinion of many as able Divines as Chriſtianity has had, that it is not to be made out from Human Reaſon but that the World has been from Eternity, by an Emanation from the firſt Cauſe, as the learned *Maimonides*, in his *More Nevochim, par.* 1. *c.* 7. well makes forth, ſaying, Whatever Arguments ſome Men bring as Demonſtrations to make out the Newneſs of the World, they are incertain and wholly doubtful; nor are they abſolutely and preciſely demonſtrative, unleſs it be to him who knows not the difference there is betwixt a Demonſtration, a Topick, and a Sophiſm: but to him that underſtands thoſe things, it appears more clear than the Noonday, that many doubts adhere to thoſe Proofs, and that thoſe Principles cannot be demonſtrated by any natural Reaſon. And *Manilius, l.* 1. *p.* 5. *v.* 25. having ſet forth all the Opinions of the antient Philoſophers concerning the Riſe of the World, *viz.* Whether it were from Eternity, or roſe from a Chaos, in Time, *&c.* has dared to conclude thus:

Semper erit genus in pugna, dubiumque manebit
Quod latet, & tantum ſupra eſt hominemque Deumque.

Its Riſe will ſtill be in Conteſt, nor can
The Doubt be clear'd; ſurpaſſing God and Man.

And

And when any of the *Gentiles* write of a *Chaos*, and the Riſe of the World from it, we find, as to the Time of that Riſe, they leave it wholly indefinite; and what they ſay elſe of it, is only by way of *Hypotheſis* (they well knowing it to be beyond the reach of Man to have any thing certain in this matter) to comply with the Apprehenſions of the Vulgar, who cannot conceive how any thing ſhould come to have a Being, but by a gradual Riſe, as in common Generations. And ſo St. *Auſtin*, *de Civ. Dei*, *l.* 10. *c.* 31. tells us, That, as to what the *Gentiles* have ſaid, as to the Beginning of the World, *Fuit Initium Subſtitutionis*, *non Temporis*, it was only a ſubſtituted Beginning, on the account before mentioned. And if any of the *Gentiles* who have read the Books of *Moſes*, ſhould be asked what they thought of what *Moſes* has written concerning the Creation; it's natural to believe, that not being brought up under an Engagement to what he had delivered, they would take the ſame freedom with him, as we have done with their Legiſlators, in ſaying, That, as to a Communion they pretended with inviſible Powers, who dictated their Laws to them; this was only ſaid by them to gain Authority with the People: And *Diodorus* plainly ſays the ſame of *Moſes*; tho probably they would own, that *Moſes* ſetting up for a Divine Legiſlator, had framed an *Hypotheſis* very conformable to his Undertaking, in making that God the Creator and Framer of the World, whom he would have to be in a particular manner the Ruler of the *Jewiſh* Nation. They might conſider that, as it's the Buſineſs of Legiſlators to cultivate the moral World, and not the natural; ſo they draw all *Phyſicks*, and the other Sciences, to Morals, and ſet forth ſuch a Riſe and Periods to the World, as they think ſuit beſt with their moral Ends. And it's manifeſt St. *Auſtin* looked on what is delivered by *Moſes* concerning the Creation, to be ſet forth by way of *Hypotheſis*; otherwiſe he could not have maintained, as

he did, that the World was created in an Instant, and consequently not according to that Order which *Moses* sets forth. Which Opinion also, as *Abulpharabius* tells us in the beginning of his History of the *Dynasties*, translated into *Latin* by Dr. *Pocock*, was held by *Gregorius Nyssenus* and *Jacobus Edissenus*; as it was likewise by *Procopius* and *Cajetan*, and many of the *Rabbins*, who best understood and allegorized the Bible according to their mysterious *Cabbala*, and the Traditions of their Ancestors. And *Philo*, in the beginning of his first Book concerning *the Allegories of the Law*, plainly writes, *Rusticanæ Simplicitatis est putare sex diebus, aut utique certo tempore mundum conditum.* So *Maimonides*, in his *More Nevochim*, *part* 2. *c.* 30. says, that Heaven and Earth were created together; and in his foregoing Chapter, that all things that are said concerning the Work of the Creation, are not to be understood and taken according to the Letter, as the Vulgar think: for if they were, the Wise Men would not have commanded them to be hidden, nor would have used so great Care in hiding and involving them in Parables, and forbid any Discourse of them before the People, because their literal Senses either beget ill Thoughts, Imaginations, or Opinions concerning the Nature of God, or overthrow the Foundations of the Law, and introduce some Heresy. And in his Preface, he says, it is not possible to make known the Work of the Creation to Flesh and Blood; therefore the Wise Men have been forced to use Parables, *Ænigma's*, and very abstruse Speeches.

I know *Johannes Picus* has shewn a great Effort of Wit and Learning in his sevenfold Exposition of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, which he calls *Heptaphus*; on which, tho I should not pass that Censure which a certain Author has done, saying it to be written *Magnâ ostentatione, sed parvo fructu*; yet I believe there are many Men of a luxuriant Genius, who often in their Comments on Authors, floridly set forth many things,

things, which the Authors themſelves never dreamt of.

Dr. *Hyde*, in his Hiſtory of the *Religion of the* Perſians, tells us of another *Hypotheſis* concerning the Creation. He writes, that inſtead of that we call the *Hexameron*, or ſix Days Work, thoſe that were of the Race of the old *Perſians* believed God created the World in *ſix Times*, ſo called with regard to the ſix Days mentioned in the Scripture; they thinking that in ſo great a Work, a Day is put for a Collection of Days. This Doctrine they had from *Zoroaſter*, the *Perſian* Prophet, who ſtrictly enjoined a Feſtival Obſervation of thoſe ſix times, which ſome think to have been more antient than *Zoroaſter*, and ſay that God firſt admoniſhed the old King of *Perſia*, called *Gienſhed*, of theſe times, and that *Zoroaſter* long after renewed and ordered a Continuation and a farther Obſervation of them; but haply this is fabulous, for it ſeems that *Zoroaſter* firſt inſtituted and enjoined them to be obſerved by the *Perſians*.

There is an Agreement among all their Authors concerning the Names of the ſaid Times, and their Order, and concerning the Number of the Days in general, and of the Order of the Creation; but concerning the Site of the Times, that is, in what Month, Day, and in what part of the Year they began, it is not ſo. However, all the Days of the Creation numbred together make 365, which compleat one whole Year.

Now to ſettle the Month and Day, and the part of the Year in which the Times began, and in which the *Perſians* ſeem confuſed, we find their beginning of their laſt Feaſt is certain, without any Difference among them; whence by the Guidance of that we may determine of the reſt after the following manner, according to the antient Order of the Months.

1*ſt*, The Creation of the Heavens in 45 Days, beginning on the 11*th* of *May*, laſted unto the 25*th* of *June*, both incluſively.

2*dly*, The Creation of the Waters in 60 Days, beginning on the 26*th* of *June*, laſted to the 25*th* of *Auguſt*, both incluſively.

3*dly*, The Creation of the Earth in 75 Days, beginning on the 26*th* of *Auguſt*, laſted to the 10*th* of *November*, both incluſively.

4*thly*, The Creation of the Trees and Plants in 30 Days, beginning on the 11*th* of *November*, laſted to the 10*th* of *December*, both incluſively.

5*thly*, The Creation of Animals in 80 Days, beginning on the 11*th* of *December*, held to the 30*th* of *March*, both incluſively.

6*thly*, The Creation of Man in 75 Days, beginning on the firſt of the remaining Days, held to the 10*th* of *May*, both incluſively.

In the whole a compleat Year, or 365 Days; ſo that according to them, as far as we may gather, the Creation ſeems begun in the Summer, about the Month of *May*, and to have been ended upon the Revolution of the Year at the ſame time; ſo as upon *Adam*'s Creation all the Productions of the Earth were in their full State of Perfection.

Therefore, after their Belief in one true and eternal God, which they held before, this was *Zoroaſter*'s next Precept, that in each of the ſaid Times, there ſhould be celebrated in every Time five Feſtival Days, with Feaſting and Joy; wherefore even at preſent, the antient *Perſians* and their *Magi*, according to the Inſtitution of *Zoroaſter*, in each feſtival Time of the Creation, celebrated five Days, and during thoſe five Days praiſe God for the things he created in that part of Time, and exhort Men to all the Offices of a pious Mind, which anſwer to thoſe Works.

The

The festival Celebration therefore of each of the six Times lasts only for five Days, tho they believe the Work done in each time lasted more Days in doing, as is said before.

Zoroaster therefore taking the History of the Creation both from the *Hebrew Bibles*, and the Mouths of the *Jews* in *Persia*, wrested and interpreted it after this manner, expounding the six Days there mentioned to be six Times, each consisting of many Days, the whole Sum of which makes a compleat Year; he being uneasy to think that so great a Work as the Creation of the World was hastily performed in six Days, and therefore assigned longer times for it. Now tho God could have created the World, and all things in it, in an Instant; yet in compliance with Mens Apprehensions, he divided his Work into six Days, and rested the seventh, to be an Example for Men, whom he would have to sanctify the seventh Day, which he strictly commanded, and ordered severe Punishments to be inflicted on Transgressors. So far my Abstract from Dr. *Hyde*, as to *Zoroaster*'s *Hypothesis*, concerning the Creation.

Having considered the Creation, I shall now proceed to the Deluge; and if we should ask the *Gentiles* what they thought of what *Moses* has written concerning the Deluge, doubtless, as it's manifest in what they have set forth concerning Deluges, and a Renovation of Things, they only intimated in a parabolical way (that Style being generally used in the Eastern Parts) a Deluge of Vice and Disorder in the World, and a new Form of Government set on foot by some good Man; so they would conclude that *Moses* meant no more, and that no such thing as a general Deluge had ever been, there being no Records among the *Gentiles* of any such thing. I said, it's manifest the *Gentiles* meant no more by the Deluge they mention, than what is said, because it is very well known, the Deluges they mention, tho described as general over

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the whole Earth, as that of *Moſes* is, were only little Deluges of particular Countries, which they, giving a looſe to Fancy, extended at pleaſure, to amuſe the Vulgar, well knowing the Judicious would take them right. So, according to this, Dr. *Hyde* in his Hiſtory of the Religion of the *Perſians*, c. 9. tells us, that one *Kejomdras* was ſaid by the *Indians* and *Perſians* to be the Reſtorer and firſt Propagator of Mankind after a Deluge; which Fable meant only that *Kejomdras* being one of the Kings of the firſt *Dynaſties* of the *Medes*, took that Kingdom out of the hands of the *Aſſyrians*, who had uſurped it, and reſtored it to the *Medes*: whereupon, becauſe he was the Reſtorer of that Empire and Religion, he was affirmed by them to be the Reſtorer of Mankind, or at leaſt they were pleaſed ſo to ſtyle him, becauſe he was the renowned Author of the Reſtoration to the *Median* and *Perſian* World. So again, Dr. *Hyde* tells us, that *Ibis Shana*, an *Arabian*, writes in his Book concerning the firſt and laſt things, that there were ſome *Magi* who deny a Deluge, as the *Indians* and *Chineſes*, and ſome other Oriental Nations: and that others of the *Magi* acknowledge a Deluge, but ſaid it was not univerſal, nor paſſed beyond the Top of a Mountain near *Huldan*, a City in the Confines of *Aſſyria* and *Perſia*.

But to return to the *Gentiles* above-mentioned; they would be free to own that a Deluge ſet forth with ſuch Circumſtances as that of *Moſes* is, carries more of terrour in it, and more emphatically exaggerates a Judgment of God on a ſinful World; it becoming a Divine Legiſlator ſo to do, the ſame being uſual with the Prophets, as *Rabbi Elcha Ben-David* in his ingenious Tract *de Fine Mundi*, tranſlated from the *Hebrew* into *Latin* by *Gaffarel*, well obſerves, concluding his Book thus: King *David*, and the reſt of the Prophets, when they announce the Anger and Vengeance of God, do it by thoſe things which ſtrick

ſtrick the greateſt terrour in the Minds of Men; as ſaying, it will be done with Flames of Pitch and Brimſtone, tho' theſe things will not happen properly, and as the Letter ſays. So when *Iſaiah* foretels a Vengeance againſt the *Idumeans*, he ſays the Rivers will be turn'd into Pitch, and the Earth into Sulphur, tho' theſe things did not happen in the Puniſhment of thoſe *Idumeans*. The Prophets therefore, when they ſay it will rain Fire and Sulphur, underſtand only that God will chaſtiſe Sinners with ſevere Puniſhments: And other Authors have obſerved, that prophetick Denouncings have very often ſomewhat Hyperbolical in them; ſo that they are not always to be taken according to the Letter, and that thoſe Hyperbolical Speeches are very uſual in the Eaſtern Parts, of which many Inſtances may be given; and as for Parabolical Expreſſions uſed in the Scripture, *Father Simon* obſerves, that many Parables in them are ſet forth with ſuch Circumſtances, that Men would be apt to take them for real Truths, unleſs they were declared to be Parables. And as however particular *Moſes* has been in the deſcription of the Place of the terreſtrial Paradiſe, we know the Allegorical Fathers laugh at thoſe who ſeek after a corporeal Paradiſe, they concluding all that is ſaid of Paradiſe muſt be underſtood allegorically. So I believe, however circumſtantiated the Deſcription given by *Moſes* of the Deluge may be, many paſſing by the literal Senſe, will adhere to the parabolical, they thinking this to be what Man ought chiefly to attend to. Indeed, if *Moſes*'s Deluge could be reſtrained to the Senſe of the *Gentiles*, (a Point which I take not upon me to maintain, and leave it to others to conſider whether, and how far it would derogate from the Dignity of the Scripture, if it were) it would ſave Chriſtian Divines a world of Labour, in anſwering almoſt inſuperable Difficulties which attend the Deluge, as commonly underſtood, according to the Letter,

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unleſs they will have a continual Recourſe to Miracles, which we know the learned *Gentiles* ridicule.

Somnia, terrores Magicos, miracula, ſagas,
Nocturnos Lemures, portentaque Theſſala rident.

The ſame Explanation alſo would have ſaved the Labours of many ingenious Men, who, finding their Underſtandings over-ſet by the Difficulties attending the Deluge, as literally ſet forth, have exerted their Efforts ſeveral Ways, by ſetting up *Hypotheſes* for extricating themſelves.

——————Velut unda truditur undâ,
Sic varia exagitant altas molimina menſes.

Which brings to my mind what Mr. *Saurin* writes in the third Part of his *Examen* of M. *Jurieu's Theology*, *p.* 864. *viz.* I may ſay without Breach of Charity, that the moſt ſublime and profound Wits are the moſt ſubject to give into Viſion, to take Fancies for Realities, and to build Syſtems of odd Conceits and Chimera's. But to intimate ſome of thoſe *Hypotheſes*, ſome tell us, that the Waters of Deluge only affected *Paleſtine*, tho ſome *Rabbins* ſay that Country, thro' a particular Privilege, was free from thoſe Waters. Some ſay that thoſe Waters overflowed all *Aſia*, and no more. Some again will have the Deluge to have happened by the Motion of a Comet near the Earth. Another ſays, he conceives the Deluge happened upon the Earth's changing its Center,

Flectere ſi nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo ;

By reaſon of the Weight of the Waters which fell in *Aſia*, and chiefly in *Paleſtine*, unequally preſſing it, and that thereupon the Ocean of the *Antipodes* ſent up vaſt Inundations into the oppoſite Hemiſphere ; which,

which tho it might ſeem to imply a Failure of Waters, at that time, with the *Antipodes*, ſo that that Part of the World was not drown'd; yet admitting that the whole Globe of the Earth was not all overflown at the ſame time, he ſays, that, by reaſon of the manifold Motions of the Waters, all the Mountains came ſucceſſively to be covered. Another, doubtleſs with many Years Labour, has fram'd an Antediluvian Earth, ſeated over an Abyſs of Waters, which Earth being cloven by the Heat of the Sun, at length, fell into the Abyſs, which upon its overflowing, cauſed the Deluge: And this Author, in his Work, expreſſes ſo great an Aſſurance of his *Hypotheſis*, that he doubted not but it would ſtand all Tryals, ſaying, that it carried in it more than a moral Certainty, and that he would give any Man thanks that would ſhew him any Failure in it; which, I think, I have effectually done in many reſpects, tho I never received thanks for it, nor did he think fit to offer any reply; as Men of Prudence are wont to be ſilent, when they find what is offered againſt them will not bear a Reply. But I have been told by ſome Perſons who uſed to converſe with the Author, that they heard him ſay, he did not think any Man could have offered ſo much againſt his *Hypotheſis*, as I have done.

Dr. *Edwards*, in his new Diſcoveries relating to human Knowledge, publiſhed *An.* 1714. under the head of Natural Philoſophy, tells us of a great and moſt valuable Demonſtration of the univerſal Deluge, and of its Writer's profound Knowledge and Judgment, a *Specimen* of which Demonſtration he had been favoured with a ſight of; which, when finiſhed, he ſays, will be one of the greateſt Maſter-pieces of Natural Philoſophy, and of all ſorts of choice Literature that this Age has ſeen, or perhaps ever ſhall ſee. And now, after more than eight Years Expectation, we have that *Specimen*, as I ſuppoſe, publiſhed

under the Title of, *A third Edition of an Eſſay towards the Natural Hiſtory of the Earth*, &c. where the Author gives ſome account of the univerſal Deluge, I cannot ſay a Demonſtration of it; for he ſuppoſes the Deluge, as deſcribed by *Moſes*, which he ingenuouſly owns to have been cauſed by Miracle, and ſays, *pag.* 183. that as Nature's Syſtem was then, and is ſtill ſupported and eſtabliſhed, a Deluge neither could then, nor can now happen naturally: And if ſo, it ſeems to me all *Hypotheſes* and *Demonſtrations* of the Deluge muſt be out of doors; for theſe muſt be grounded on Reaſons, or ſeeming Reaſons, drawn from Nature, and not from Omnipotence, or the firſt Cauſe, *ad quam, ut aiunt, turpe eſt Philoſopho recurrere*; and indeed I think it as improper for Men to amuſe themſelves in ſetting up *Hypotheſes*, or offering Demonſtrations for making out the Deluge, and its Effects, farther than we have a plain Scripture Warrant for them, (as we have not for ſome Effects which the Author aſcribes to the Deluge) as it would be to ſet up Hypotheſes and Demonſtrations for making out all the Miracles mentioned in the Scripture. So far am I from thinking any Hypotheſis or pretended Demonſtration in that kind to be a choice and valuable Piece of Literature. If *Moſes* and *Zoroaſter* have ſet forth the Creation in an Hypothetical way, it was only *ad uſum captumque vulgi*, and not to make the thing out philoſophically, as *Hypotheſes* ſet up by Philoſophers muſt do: And I believe when *Moſes* writ what he has concerning the Creation and the Deluge, he did not think Men of Learning, knowing in Nature, and the Ways of Legiſlators, would go about to bring what he had writ under a Phyſiological Conſideration in a publick way. But to proceed; the Author all along his Eſſay, often refers himſelf for making out many Poſitions he advances, to a larger Work which he intends to publiſh in due time; and in his Preface he deſires

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thoſe who do not eaſily apprehend the Connexion of his Syſtem, to have patience till that larger Work comes forth; which Advice I ſhould have been inclined to follow, only conſidering that Life being a contingent thing, poſſibly the World may never ſee that larger Work, as I never expect to ſee it myſelf, well knowing the time of my Diſſolution to be near at hand: wherefore I thought it might not be an ungrateful thing to the Learned, if I gave them my thoughts concerning this Work, as it relates to the Deluge. And as I have amuſed myſelf many Years in Philoſophical Studies, and am a Well-wiſher to Natural Hiſtory, I ſhould be glad to contribute any thing, tho but a ſmall Mite, toward a clear proceeding in it. Whereas the Author often refers to his larger Work for making out his Propoſitions, I ſhall not invidiouſly ſay, as perhaps ſome might,

Pollicitis dives quilibet eſſe poteſt:

Intimating as tho the Author never intended to publiſh the larger Work he mentions, for I am really perſuaded he intends it; but I muſt ſay, I doubt much whether he will ever be able to make good ſeveral of his Propoſitions, ſo as to ſatisfy thoſe who duly inſpect the Works of Nature. Not but I conceive all Men will own the Author has beſtowed great pains in making Obſervations, and employed much thought in conſidering and digeſting his Matter, and given conſiderable lights to many Parts of Natural Hiſtory; and I am ſo far from envying all due Applauſe to a Perſon who ſhould help to clear our Underſtandings in Difficulties we lie under, as we conſider many natural *Phænomena*, that I ſhould highly congratulate his fortunate Succeſs in it. It's no ſmall Undertaking to ſet forth the whole Oeconomy of Nature as to this terreſtrial Globe; and I think he that attempts it, tho' he may fail in ſome Points of

it, may ſtill come off with honour by the Poet's Saying,

Magnis tamen excidit auſis.

The main Point the Author goes upon in his Work, is the Conſideration of the marine Bodies found on all Parts of the Land round the Globe, and at all Depths in the Earth in digging, and how theſe Bodies were brought on the Land. And in the firſt Part of his Work, he examines the Opinions of former Writers on this Subject, the Means whereby they thought theſe marine Bodies were brought out upon the Earth, the Changes of Sea and Land, and other Alterations of the terraqueous Globe, which they ſuppoſed to have happened: and ſetting by all other Opinions as inſufficient for ſuch a Work, becauſe the preſent Circumſtances of theſe marine Bodies, he ſays, do not ſquare with thoſe Opinions, but exhibit *Phænomena* that thwart them, and give plain Indications they could have never been put into that Condition we now find them, by any ſuch ſhort and particular Agents as they propoſe; he concludes they muſt have been brought forth on the Land by the univerſal Deluge. And in regard he judges the foreſaid Circumſtances are impartially related in his Obſervations, he ſays, he ſhall ſhew from them, and from the Number, Order, Variety, Situation, Depth, Diſtance from the Sea, and other Accidents of thoſe Bodies, that they were not born out from the Sea, and laid upon the Land by any of the Cauſes aſſigned by others: And in the ſecond Part of his Work, which is concerning the Univerſal Deluge, he ſets forth that theſe marine Bodies were then left upon the Land, and the Effects the Deluge had upon the Earth; for making out both which, he ſets forth Hiſtorical Facts and Obſervations, which are too long for me to ſet down and examine here, I pretending at preſent only to a tranſient View of what

what is offered by ſeveral Perſons concerning the Deluge; but whereas the Author has drawn Inferences from thoſe Hiſtorical Facts and Obſervations which contain the main Doctrine he takes upon him to make good in his Work: and ſince I can neither ſee that all the Inferences are duly drawn, nor approve of the Doctrine they contain, I ſhall ſet down ſome of thoſe Inferences, and ſubjoin a few Thoughts concerning them.

The firſt Inference is, That thoſe marine Bodies were born forth of the Sea by the univerſal Deluge, and that upon the return of the Water back again from off the Earth, they were left behind at Land.

The ſecond Inference ſets forth the Effects the Deluge had upon the Earth, and the Alterations it made in the Globe, which were, that during the time of the Deluge, while the Water was out upon, and covered the terreſtrial Globe, all the Stone and Marble of the Antediluvian Earth, all the Metals of it, all Mineral Concretions, and in a word, all Foſſiles whatſoever, that had before obtained any Solidity, were totally diſſolved, and that the ſaid Corpuſcles of theſe ſolid Foſſiles, together with the Corpuſcles of thoſe Subſtances which were not before ſolid, ſuch as Sand, Earth, and the like, as alſo all Animal Bodies, and Parts of Animals, Bones, Teeth, Shells, Vegetables, and part of Vegetables, Trees, Shrubs, Herbs, and all Bodies whatever that were either upon the Earth, or that conſtituted the Maſs of it, to the greateſt depth Men ever dig, were aſſumed up promiſcuouſly into the Water, and ſuſtained in it in ſuch manner that the Water and Bodies in it together made up one common confuſed Maſs.

Now, there being a Connection betwixt theſe two Inferences, I ſhall conſider them together; and in what the Author lays down in his firſt Inference, and the ground he goes upon, he ſeems to me very precarious, notwithſtanding all his Obſervations: for he

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here ſuppoſes, without any Proof, or telling us he lays it down as a *Poſtulatum*, that there were none of thoſe Marine Bodies found upon the Earth, or in digging before the Deluge; whereas, I am inclined to believe, and ſee nothing from Scripture, Hiſtory, or Reaſon to the contrary, That if an *Antediluvian* Philoſopher could be raiſed from the Dead, he might ſatisfy us, that the ſame ſorts of Marine Bodies were then found on the Earth, and in digging, as are now. And as it was above 2000 Years from the Creation to the Deluge, according to the *Septuagint* Chronology, (which, it ſeems, muſt be looked on as authentick, the Pope having allowed the Miſſioners in *China* to own that Chronology, to ſave them from being laugh'd at by the *Litterati* in that Nation) who knows what Changes might have paſſed betwixt Sea and Land in that time? And again, if the Author ſhould propoſe that *Poſtulatum* to be allowed by the *Gentiles*, they would never yield to it; for tho they ſhould admit what he contends for, *viz.* that there have been no very conſiderable Changes on the Face of the Earth ſince the Deluge, this ſignifies very little to them; for as they held the World to have been from Eternity (an Opinion which human Reaſon cannot overthrow, as *Aquinas* tells us, *Mundum cæpiſſe eſt credibile, non autem demonſtrabile aut ſcibile*) there was time enough for the Sea and Land to have changed Places a Million of Times. And for want of Records, Man is never like to have the Satisfaction to know what Changes have paſs'd between Sea and Land, but muſt content himſelf with conjectural Surmiſes.

As we conſider how the Marine Bodies, according to the Author, were brought forth of the Sea by the univerſal Deluge, and left on the Land on the Return of the Water, we may note, the Author, *p.* 28. tells us, it's moſt certain, and the Relations of *divers* confirm it, that the Tydes, and Storms, even the

the moſt tempeſtuous and turbulent, affect only the ſuperficial Parts of the Ocean, the Shallows and Shores, but never reach the great Depths, or diſturb the Bottom of the Main; theſe are quiet and free from Commotion in the midſt of Storms as in the greateſt Calm; ſo that the Shell-Fiſh which are reſident in theſe Places, live and die there, and are never diſlodged or removed by Storms, nor caſt upon the Shores, which thoſe Fiſhes that live near the Shores are: And here the Author adds, he will prove at large in his greater Work, that ſome of the Shells of the Fiſhes that live in the greater Depths, or the Bottom of the Main, were alſo brought forth on the Land at the Deluge. Now if this be ſo, it muſt be concluded that the Commotions of the Waters at the Deluge were much more boiſterous and violent than they have been ever ſince; and if ſo, I know not how this may well conſiſt with what the Author writes, *p.* 286. *viz.* it is not any Paradox, notwithſtanding the Diſſolution of the Earth which happened at the Deluge, to ſuppoſe there was this or that Mineral in the ſame Part of the Globe afterwards, where it was before that happened. The Water of the Abyſs indeed changed its place during that time, ſo did the Sea, and bore the Bodies it contain'd, many of them, out along with it: but the terreſtrial Parts of the Globe, Metals, Minerals, Marble, Stone, and the reſt, they, tho diſſolved and aſſumed up into the Water, did not ſtir or remove far; but at the great general Subſidence, ſettled down again in or near the ſame Place, from which they were before taken up: for the Water was all out upon the Face of the Earth before ever theſe ſtirred, or were fetched up out of their native Beds, and they were all ſunk down into the ſame Beds again before the Water began to ſhift away back to its old Quarters, ſo that it could not contribute any thing to the removal of them; and the Wa-

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ter was in great measure clear, and disengaged from the earthy Mass before it went off: and it was well it was so, for had not the Mineral Matter of the Globe been held to its former Station, but hurried about, and transposed from place to place, 'tis scarcely to be conceived how many and great Inconveniencies it would have occasioned. The same likewise for Vegetables; had the Seeds of the Pepper Plant, the Nutmeg, the Clove, or the Cinnamon Trees, been borne from *Java*, *Banda*, the *Molucca's* and *Ceylon*, to the Northern Countries, they must have starv'd for want of Sun; or had the Seeds of our colder Plants shifted thither, they would have been burnt up and spoiled by it: but things generally kept to their proper Places, to their native Soil and Climate, which had they not done, all would have been confounded and destroyed. So far the *Essay*.

We see here the Author makes the Waters of the Deluge tempestuous and calm at his pleasure; tempestuous, to remove the Shells from the deepest Parts of the Sea upon the Land; calm, to keep the dissolved Metals and the Seeds of Vegetables to their respective Posts without straying: the reason of which Tempests and Calms, perhaps we may know hereafter. Indeed, as the Author truly says, it was well the Mineral Matter held to its former Station, and was not hurried about, and transposed from place to place, because it would have occasioned great Inconveniences; which Inconveniences, tho he does not name, I will tell him one: The Fishes could not have lived where such a *Menstruum* as dissolved all Metals and Minerals prevailed; nor could their Spawn be preserved in it, nor even the Seeds of Vegetables; and it looks a little awkward for the Author to suppose that all Metals, and the other Bodies mentioned in his second Inference, were dissolved and assumed up promiscuously into the Water, and sustained in it in such manner that the Water, and the Bodies in it

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together made up one common Mass; and that this *Menstruum* which dissolved these Bodies, must have stood hovering over the Place where the Metals were originally lodg'd, till it let them fall again into their old Places, and in their old Form of solid Ores and regular Beds. And, as he tells us, *p.* 284. that Metals and Minerals were no less plenty before the Deluge than now; they must have been dispers't then, more or less round the whole Globe, as they are now, and it would seem no less than the calling in of a Miracle to determine that *Menstruum* after such a particular manner as always to attend the Metals and Minerals, without dispersing itself throughout the whole Mass.

Again, tho' the Author tells us the Seeds of Vegetables were not carried by the Waters of the Flood from their native Seats, yet, he says, *pag.* 80. there are found in the *Strata* of the Earth, the Bones of all the Parts of Land-Animals, and often of such as are not Natives of the Countries in which they are found; as the Skeletons of very great Elephants in *England*, and also incredibly large Horns of the *Moose-Deer*, a Creature not known to be now living in any Country but *America*. So, *pag.* 81. he tells us, there are dug up in some Northern Islands great numbers of Trees, and many of them very large, in which Islands there are at this day growing no Trees at all, and where, by reason of the great Cold of those Countries, 'tis probable none ever did, or could grow. Now if these ponderous Trees and Animals were brought by the Deluge from we know not how remote Countries, how comes it that the light Vegetable Seeds were not stirr'd from their native Soil and Climates?

The Nature of the *Menstruum* also ought to be considered, which the Author affirms to have dissolved all the Mineral and Metalline Bodies at the Deluge. If a Man melts a Pound of Lead, he has his Lead again; but if he melts a Pound of *Ore*, he will never

have his *Ore* again, tho he may have ſome Metal from it. And I would gladly be informed by the Author, whether Chymiſtry furniſhes any *Menſtruum* which will diſſolve *Ores*, ſo that they can become ſolid *Ores* again; as he ſuppoſes all the *Ores* were diſſolved at the Deluge, and became ſolid *Ores* again after they ſubſided as the Deluge was almoſt over. I was many Years ſince at the Houſe of my late honoured Friend *William Stroud* Eſq; at *Street*, two Miles from *Glaſton-bury* in *Somerſetſhire*, who carried me into his Laboratory, and ſhewed me a piece of *Pottern Ore*, which he then took out of a *Menſtruum*, in a Galley-pot, nor did he conceal from me what the *Menſtruum* was; he ſhewed me alſo ſome running *Mercury*, which he then took out of the ſaid *Menſtruum*, and had been drawn from the *Ore* by the *Menſtruum:* but it muſt not be thought, if the *Menſtruum* had diſſolved the whole Body of the *Ore*, it could ever return to *Ore* again. We call that *Ore*, *Pottern-Ore*, becauſe it's uſed by Potters to glaze their Earthern Veſſels, and is the mildeſt ſort of *Lead-Ore*, that is, the eaſieſt to yield to the Fire, or to a *Menſtruum*, of any dug on *Mendip-Hills*.

If the Author thinks he has fairly made out what he lays down in one of his Obſervations, or hiſtorical Facts, *viz.* that in all Parts of the Earth the *Strata* are compiled, and the marine Bodies diſpoſed in them every where after the ſame Method, and ſo as apparently to ſhew things were reduced into this Method in all Countries at the ſame time, and by the ſame means; I doubt he will not eaſily perſuade others to it: For tho we may allow him that the marine Bodies found in the *Strata* of the Earth were every where lodged there after the ſame method, and by the ſame means, I cannot ſee any thing cogent to allow that they were placed there in all Countries at the ſame time; for tho Plants grow every where, by the Influence of the Sun, after the ſame method, and by the

the ſame means, they do not grow alike in all Countries at the ſame time; and if the Sun has not ſo general an Operation on the Earth, as to make Plants to flouriſh in all Countries at the ſame time, much leſs may it be expected that any other Cauſe ſhould operate over the whole Globe at the ſame time, ſo as to diſſolve all ſubterraneous Bodies to receive Sea-Shells and other Subſtances into them. Wherefore I think it more probable that Sea-Shells have been gradually enchac'd in Stones and Mineral Bodies by partial Changes in all Parts of the Globe, as Matter has been gradually prepared both at Sea and Land for receiving them: And it is my opinion, that all Stones and ſolid Bodies which contain Sea-Shells within them, received them into them upon their original Concretion from an embrionate State, and were not diſſolved at the Deluge to receive them, as the Author contends; and as thoſe embrionate Subſtances are prepared more or leſs in all Parts of the Sea and Land, I conceive they are chiefly prepar'd at Sea, where the ſub-marine Ferments are ſo ſtrong, that they emit Blaſts of Fire, caſt up Iſlands, *&c.* and at Land, eſpecially where the Mountains, tho now far from the Sea, continue the Protruſion begun, while the Sea covered the Countries where they are, and where, through the Strength of Ferments, Eructations often happen both in Mountains, and even in lower Lands, by which Trees and other Bodies are ſwallowed up in the Earth, and large and deep Swallow-Pits appear on the Land, in the Bottoms of which, if Men dig, they find the Trees ſo ſwallowed up; not a few of which Pits are found on *Mendip-Hills* in *Somerſetſhire*, with thoſe ſubterraneous Trees found in the Bottoms of ſome of them: and I doubt not but the like Pits are frequent where any other conſiderable Mines are.

I ſhall proceed now to the Author's third Inference, which is, that, at length, all the Maſs that

was born up in the Water, was again precipitated and ſubſided towards the Bottom; that this Subſidence happened generally, and as near as poſſibly could be expected in ſo great a Confuſion, according to the Laws of Gravity: that Matter, Body, or Bodies which had the greateſt quantity or degree of Gravity, ſubſiding firſt in order, and falling loweſt; that which had the next, or a ſtill leſſer degree of Gravity, ſubſiding next after, and ſettling upon the precedent, and ſo on; and that the Matter ſubſiding thus, form'd the *Strata* of Stone, of Marble, of Coal, of Earth, and of all the reſt.

Now on this Inference I have many things to offer: Firſt, Whereas the Author ſuppoſes that the Earth, and all the Bodies belonging to it, except Vegetables, and the Parts of Animals, being diſſolved at the Deluge, ſettled again towards the end of it, ſome lower and ſome higher, according to their ſpecifick Gravity; this, in general, is contrary to my Obſervations, tho ſometimes Beds are placed according to ſuch Gravity: and tho, I believe, if any Man will make trial, by digging either on Mountains or Plains, he will as often find in ſinking Beds of a light Subſtance under Beds of a more ponderous Subſtance, as on the contrary; yet I think it moſt proper to conſider this in Mines, where Nature ſeems to keep a greater regularity than elſewhere. And I think it not eaſy to conceive how, according to the Author's *Hypotheſis*, the Particles of Metalline *Ores*, which are the moſt ponderous Foſſiles we know of, ſhould have ſettled themſelves on the higheſt Parts of the Earth, *viz.* in Mountains, and many times near the Surface of the Earth there, in thoſe Veins *Agricola* calls *Venæ Subdiales*. If we conſider the *Rakes* which contain Metalline *Ores*, where the Beds of thoſe *Ores*, and of the other *Foſſiles*, which we call *Rake-fill*, ſtand either perpendicular to the *Horizon*, or lie in ſome degree of Obliquity to it, we ſhall find, that in

in the firſt Formation of thoſe *Strata*, and of the Clifts that bound them on either ſide, (which all Men will judge to have been formed together) there was little regard to Gravity; and this, whether thoſe *Strata* were originally form'd in an *Horizontal* Poſition, as the Author ſeems to think, or from an embrionated Earth, as ſome will have it, in that perpendicular, or oblique Poſition we find them: for if they were originally form'd in an *Horizontal* Poſition, how comes it that, if a reſpect were had to Gravity in their Formation, the Particles of the Metalline *Ores*, which are much more ponderous than thoſe of the Clifts which bound them on either ſide, (whether thoſe Clifts conſiſt of Limeſtone, or Slates, or Tile) did not ſink beneath the Particles of the under Clift in their Formation? If the Metalline *Ores* in *Rakes* were form'd from an embrionate Earth in the perpendicular or oblique Poſition we find them, how comes it that in ſinking for *Ores* in thoſe perpendicular and oblique *Strata*, we often find the Strata, where *Ores* are, made up interchangeably of Earths, Ores, Spars, Croötes, and other Foſſiles; and that the Ores, which are the moſt ponderous, do not always, as they ought, ſettle in the loweſt Place? Upon the whole, I find no more regard to Gravity in the Formation of Minerals, than in that of Animals and Vegetables: We have a Maxim in *Phyſicks*, *Spiritu diſtenta omnia pro generis affinitate diſtant.* So that the *Archæus*, or forming Spirit of the various Minerals in the Earth, has no more regard to Gravity, than the forming Spirits in the Seeds of Animals and Vegetables have in the Formation of the ſeveral Subſtances of which their Bodies conſiſt. If you converſe with Miners, they will tell you, there are both Quick and Dead *Rakes*; and that the Quick are ſo call'd, not only becauſe they contain metalline *Ores*, but likewiſe becauſe the Earths and Stones in thoſe *Rakes* are generally of a more

more vivid Colour than in the dead Rakes, a ſtrong vivifying Spirit aſcending in them ; and I believe that thoſe who do not conſider the Energy of a forming Spirit in the Earth, beſide Gravity, will not reaſon rightly concerning it ; tho Gravity many times may account for the Poſition of ſome *Strata*, where the Particles have not been expanded by the forming Spirit.

As I have mentioned a forming Spirit, it naturally leads me (tho a little beſide the Point in hand) to conſider the Hypotheſis, which a Perſon of great Thought has publiſhed for ſolving the *Phænomena* of the World, ſo that ſuppoſing only Gravity and Magnetiſm, or Traction, he proceeds to account how all things are in the Site we find them ; but I know not how far Men may be led to acquieſce in this, or any other Hypotheſis which may be offered in that kind : for if in the Formation of the *Microcoſm* we find it beyond the reach of Man to comprehend and account for the *Rationes ſeminales à cauſis ſuperioribus, ſeu à primo conditore directas*, which are the Sources of all its Actions, much more muſt this be ſaid in the Formation of the Univerſe : So that after all Efforts, it ſeems, poor Man, in the ſearch of Nature, muſt be content to ſit down with an humble *nil ſcitur*, or at leaſt with what the learned *Morhoff* ſays, in his *Diſſert. de Paradoxis Senſuum*, c. 2. *Relinquenda eſt multò maxima pars Phænomenorum phyſicorum occultioribus quibuſdam cauſis quæ ab humano ingenio ſatis deprehendi non poſſunt* ; which occult Cauſes are the *Je-ne-ſçay-quoi*, the *dernier Reſort*, or laſt Appeal in ſuch Enquiries. *Socrates* plainly found this, and wonder'd others did not, and therefore laid by ſuch Reſearches, and wholly apply'd himſelf to Morality ; and many of the antient Philoſophers found the ſame : And if God has pleaſed ſo to frame human Underſtanding, that it muſt be always kept in doubt, we muſt be contented with it.

But

But to return to the Author of the Eſſay, he tells us, in the fourth part of his Work, which treats concerning the Formation of Metals and Minerals, *p.* 238. he ſhall make an enquiry, in his larger Work, why Metals and Minerals lie ſometimes ſo near the Surface, and did not, becauſe of their great Gravity, at the general Subſidence in the Deluge, fall to a much greater Depth than we now find them, even to ſuch a depth as to have lain quite out of human Reach, and ſo have been all buried and irrecoverably loſt. For which Enquiry we muſt wait the Author's leiſure and pleaſure; in which, perhaps, he may offer ſome Anſwer to the Objection I have made before, *viz.* how the ponderous Ores come to be always plac'd above the lighter Cliffs in their firſt Formation.

There is one thing alſo, concerning which I would willingly be inform'd by the Author, *viz.* whether in Coal-works, where there is a Regularity obſerved, as well as in Mines, he has obſerved that generally the upper Clift, which hangs, or lies over the Coal, be of a lighter Subſtance than the Coal itſelf.

Neither do we find in the Cut of the *Fountains of Modena*, given us by *Ramazzini*, that the *Strata* there, in ſinking, are placed according to the reſpective Gravity of the Subſtances of which they are compoſed; but interchangeably, the lighter and more ponderous, the one over and under the other. I could produce Inſtances enough in this kind; but here we are got into a Subject in which few are acquainted, and there muſt be an Appeal to Miners, Colliers, and other ſubterraneous Adventurers.

As to the fourth Inference, I leave it to the Author's Suppoſition, and to be made out when he pleaſes.

To the fifth Inference, *viz.* as to the general *Strata's* of the Earth compoſed of the Sediment of the great confuſed Maſs, being plain, even, and regular, and

and the Surface of the Earth being even and ſpherical, and not interrupted or broken, and the whole Maſs of the Waters lying above them all, and conſtituting a fluid Sphere invironing the whole Globe; I ſay, tho this may do well in Fancy and a Mathematical Abſtraction, I cannot conceive how, in Fact, ſo vaſt a Globe of Earth as this is, whether cover'd with a Sphere of Waters or not, ſhould be more even, ſpherical, and leſs interrupted and broken than it is at preſent; the greateſt Mountain on the Earth not being ſo much to the whole Globe, as a Grain of Sand is to a Globe of three Feet Diameter: ſo that Man cannot make any thing proportionally ſo evenly round as the Earth now is. And this alſo, I think, may ſatisfy, as to what is ſaid in the Author's ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth Inferences, which relate to the ſame thing. And theſe are his chief Inferences; after which he ſays, that by a careful and deliberate Examination of all the Circumſtances of thoſe Marine Bodies, he was abundantly convinced they could not have come into thoſe Circumſtances by any other Means, than ſuch a Diſſolution of the Earth, and Confuſion of Things. And in the Concluſion of the ſecond Part of his Book, he tells us, that in his larger Work he ſhall particularly conſider and prove many Particulars which he there ſets down, and which, if I live to ſee well made out, I muſt ſay,

Et erit mihi magnus Apollo.

Mean while, I wiſh ſome may not look on it as a Banter put on the World, when they ſee ſo many paradoxical Propoſitions advanced, as we find throughout the Author's Book, and all to be made out hereafter. *Kulmannus* writ a Letter to *Athanaſius Kircher*, in which he told him of many wonderful Diſcoveries he intended to publiſh; *Kircher*, in his Anſwer, adviſed him to forbear amuſing Men with ſuch Notions, *Ne octavus ſapientum audiret.*

One

One Particular the Author says he will prove, is, That Sand-Stone does not now grow by *Juxta-position*, as they speak; that is, by a continual Addition of new Matter; nor in like manner as the Bodies of Animals and Vegetables grow and are augmented, as others are of opinion.

As to this, the late Mr. *John Aubrey*, *S. R. S.* told me, that at *Avery* in *Wiltshire*, two great Stones, which are of the Sand-kind, stand up high above the Ground, betwixt which, within the Memory of Man, a Coach and Horses could pass; whereas now, those Stones, keeping still their erect Posture, a Man on horseback cannot pass betwixt them. Now, as these Stones must have grown, I doubt Men will be uneasy to stay till hereafter to know how they grow. A Man would think it must have been either by drawing outwardly an Addition of Substance from the Air, or by an inward Protrusion of Parts, as they drew a Supply of Substance from the Earth. As for the Truth of the Relation, a Man may be satisfied from the old Inhabitants of *Avery*; and I may here note, that the many Stones which are seen standing above the Ground at *Avery*, are of the same Grott with those at *Stonehenge*, both having undoubtedly been taken from the great Stones called the *Weathers*, lying on the Downs betwixt *Marlborough* and *Avery*.

It may farther be observed, that the Author's *Hypothesis* seems somewhat allied to those of *Gonzales*, *Cartes*, and the late Dr. *Burnett*; a smooth and even *Orb* of the Earth must be made, of we know not what Depth; couch'd on the face of an Abyss, reaching we know not whither: and this *Orb* must be broken in due time to make the *Nothings* call'd Mountains, and other seeming Unevennesses of the Earth. And tho the Author says Mountains were not raised successively, and at several times, being flung up or elevated by Earthquakes; I must believe that all the

burning Mountains on the Earth have been raiſed by a ſubterraneous Mover: and I think it as natural and rational for us to believe, that ſo powerful a Mover as appears to reign in thoſe Mountains, may as eaſily raiſe a Mountain, as a Mole may a Molehill, tho the gradual Riſe of thoſe Mountains has not been obſerved. And if that Mover can overthrow Mountains, of which there are Inſtances enough, why may it not raiſe them? So *Pliny* writes, *l.* 2. *c.* 86. *Naſcuntur alio modo terræ, ac repente in aliquo Mari emergunt, veluti paria ſecum faciente natura, quæque hauſerit hiatus, alio loco reddat.* So, tho the Author is poſitive in telling us, *p.* 55. contrary to the Senſe and certain Knowledge of the Antients, that *Theraſia* and other Iſlands were not raiſed by a ſubterraneous Mover; we find *Seneca*, *l.* 6. *Nat. Quæſt. c.* 21. writes thus: *Theraſiam noſtræ ætatis inſulam, ſpectantibus nautis in Ægæo Mari natam, quis dubitat quin in lucem ſpiritus vexerit?* Now, whom muſt we believe here? *Seneca* was a Man of no ſmall Repute, and relates a notorious Fact happening in his time; which, had it been falſe, he would have expoſed himſelf to be contradicted and ridiculed by every little Companion: or muſt we believe a Perſon, who, without any Proof, after ſo many Ages, tells us, there was no ſuch thing? And who, I think, with the like Aſſurance, might as well call in queſtion the Truth of a late Iſland's being caſt up near the *Canaries*. I ſhall proceed a little farther on this Subject, and declare it my Opinion, That not only the burning Mountains, but the other Mountains alſo, which contain Marine Bodies in them, and even the whole Earth, have been gradually protruded from the Sea, according to the Senſe of *Manilius*, *l.* 1. *p.* 6. *v.* 12.

Emerſêre fretis montes, orbiſque per undas
Exiliit, vaſto clauſus tamen undique ponto.

The Mountains from the Sea emerg'd, and all
The Earth; the Sea ſurrounding ſtill the whole.

And according to which Opinion, I conceive the Marine Bodies in the Earth are more naturally accounted for, than by the Author's way; an embrionate Earth being always prepared by the Sea to receive thoſe Shells and their Impreſſions: and can any Man think the vaſt Body of the Terraqueous Globe leſs able, thro ſubterraneous Ferments, to protrude Mountains, than the Body of Man, in a Fever, is able to protrude the Puſtules of the Small Pox, or thoſe of a common Itch, which are each of them infinitely greater in proportion to the Body of Man, than the others are proportionably to the Body of the Earth? And indeed the Uſe of Mountains being conſidered for ſupplying the Earth with Water, by the Rivers riſing from them, we cannot but conclude that one of the great Offices of the Sea has been to prepare Matter to be protruded by ſub-marine Ferments, according to the Exigency of the Earth. And notwithſtanding the Author tells us, *p.* 58. that when he firſt directed his Thoughts this way, 'twas a matter of real Admiration to him to find that a Belief of ſo many and ſo great Alterations in the Earth had gain'd ſo large footing, and made good its ground ſo many Ages in the World, there being not the leaſt Signs nor Footſteps of any ſuch thing on the whole Face of the Earth; no tolerable Foundation for ſuch a Belief, either in Nature or Hiſtory: I ſay, notwithſtanding this, I believe the Opinion which the Author goes about to explode, will hold as long as the World laſts; tho I am not ignorant that ſome late *German* Writers abett the Author's Hypotheſis in part, *viz.* as to the Marine Bodies being brought forth upon the Land by *Noah*'s Flood, and have ſomewhat foreſtalled his Matter. I am not here at leiſure to diſcourſe at large what Changes have been on the

Earth, but we have Evidences enough there have been many, and we muſt conſider that Nature proceeds by gentle degrees in her Operations; and notwithſtanding the Magiſterial Aſſurance with which the Author runs on throughout his whole Book, I muſt be of opinion, many Men of Thought will never be brought to believe, that Nature did ſuch a Work as he contends for at one Job. And whereas he tells us, *p.* 93. that when he conſidered the Effects of the Deluge according to his *Hypotheſis*, it appeared at firſt ſo wonderful and ſurprizing to him, that he was for ſome time at a ſtand; I ſuppoſe it will not ſeem ſtrange to him, if other Men take time to conſider whether the Motives which determined him to adhere to his *Hypotheſis*, are weighty enough to determine them. And as he ſuppoſes there were no marine Shells on the Land before the Deluge, he may do well to tell us plainly whether he be of opinion that no Sea-Shells have been inchaſed in Stone, *&c.* ſince the Deluge, for it ſhould follow from his *Hypotheſis* that they have not. And as he tells us, *p.* 123. that Sand-Stone does not ſtill conſolidate, that is, that Matter which was a few Years ago lax, incoherent, and in form of Earth or Sand, does not become daily more hard and conſiſtent, and by little and little acquire a perfect Solidity, as ſome have aſſerted: this, I ſay, ſeems to abett that Opinion, and in other words to tell us, that the petrifying Faculty is ceaſed in Nature; which would be a piece of News in Natural Philoſophy, but ſuch as will require a ſtronger Confirmation, than I believe we ſhall ever receive. I have ſeen, in the ſide of a Hill in the Southern Part of *Wiliſhire*, a Bed of light Cockle-Shells, of about two Foot thick, lodg'd betwixt Beds of a looſe and brittle Sand-Stone; and if any Man ſhall tell me thoſe Shells were ſuſpended, and conſequently ſever'd from each other in the fluid Maſs, which is ſaid to have overflown the Globe of Earth at the Deluge,

and

and that, at length, they ſubſided in ſuch a regular Bed, I cannot conceive it: and there are Thouſands of ſuch regular Beds of Shells, which demonſtrate the ſame Moral, and, I think I may ſay, Phyſical Impoſſibility. Whereas, if we allow either that the Sea had covered that Hill for a conſiderable time, and that the Shells were formed there from the Fiſhes to which they belong; or that thoſe Beds were protruded from the Deep, it no way interferes with our Reaſon. Again, I am well ſatisfied there are Riſings and Subſidings in ſeveral Parts of the Land, though commonly no notice is taken of them. A Gentleman reſiding not far from the *Bath*, told me, that if a Perſon ſtood at a certain Gate, not far from his Abode, within the Memory of Man he could not ſee the Top of the Roof of a Gentleman's Houſe ſtanding at ſome diſtance from it; whereas now, a Perſon ſtanding at the ſaid Gate, can plainly ſee the Foundation of that Houſe. And other Inſtances may be given of this kind. I ſhall only take notice of one thing more, which the Author ſays he proves from Obſervations made from himſelf, or others, *viz.* That the bottoms of deep Mines are very ſultry, and the Stones and Ores there very ſenſibly hot, even in the Winter and the colder Seaſons.

Now, as to this, tho Dr. *Brown*, as I remember, in his Account of the Mines at *Cremnits*, tells us, ſome of them are very hot at great Depths, yet this does not hold generally; for the Heat of Mines does not proceed from their Depths, but from the Nature of the Foſſiles that are in them, at whatever Depths thoſe Foſſiles are found. I remember about forty Years ſince, two ingenious Miners made a Tryal for *Lead Ore* at a Place called *Black-Down*, near *Taunton*, in *Somerſetſhire*, who told me, they ſank there in a green Sand, and at two or three Fathom Depth, they found it ſo hot, they could ſcarce bear it. And ſo, as to Damps in Mines, they happen not always

at

at great Depths, for I have been told by ſome Miners on *Mendip-Hills*, in the ſaid County, that they have ſunk there in ſome Places, where a Candle would not burn at two or three Fathom depth.

I find that which led the Author to conclude that deep Mines are hot, is, the *Hypotheſis* he goes on, of a central or abyſſine Fire; whence he writes, *p.* 161. that the *Thermæ*, natural Baths, or hot Springs, do not owe their Heat to any Colluctation, or Effervescence of the Minerals in them, as ſome Naturaliſts have believed, but to a ſubterraneous Fire, the Origin and Oeconomy of which, he ſays, *p.* 158. he will give an exact Account of in his larger Work.

Now, tho many Men favour the *Hypotheſis* of a central Fire, and other ſubterraneous Fires derived from it; and among others, the learned *Kircher*, in his *Mundus Subterraneus*, has writ at large on that Subject: I cannot wholly agree with him in it, nor with what the Author here ſays. For I ſee not why there may not be a Colluctation and Effervescence among ſeveral Minerals in the Earth, (a Doctrine abetted by ſome Chymical Experiments) ſo as to heat the Water of Baths, and even to break out in open Fires, as ſuch a Colluctation and Effervescence, and even an open Fire often happens from ſeveral Plants laid together in a Hay-ſtack; and Men may as well tell me, that the Fire of a Hay-ſtack is cauſed by a Communication from the central Fire of the Earth, as the Heat of Baths and in Mines, tho I may allow a Communication of ſome *Vulcano's*, at great Depths in the Earth, which are very diſtant from each other on the Face of the Earth. But what I contend for, is, That there are many diſtinct Ferments in the Earth, ſufficient for heating Bath-Waters, and breaking out into open Fires, without any Communication with a ſuppoſed Fire in the Center or an Abyſs.

Dr. *Jordan*, in his Book of *Natural Baths*, *c.* 2. writes, That there is a Spirit or Ferment in Mineral Subſtances, as in Allum and Copperas Mines, which being broken, expoſed and moiſtned, will gather an actual Heat. *Agricola*, *Eraſtus*, *Libavius*, *&c.* avouch from the Experience of *Miners*, that in moſt Places Mines are ſo hot, they can hardly be touch'd; tho, it's likely, where they work for perfect Minerals, the Heat which was in the Fermentation, while they were yet breeding, is much abated, the Minerals being now grown to their Perfection. And for this Heat, we need not call for ſubterraneous Fires, the in-bred Heat being ſufficient, as may appear alſo by the Ore of *Tin-Glaſs*, which being dug up, and laid in the moiſt Air, will become very hot. So Arſenick and Sublimate, being mixed together, will grow ſo hot, they are not to be touched; and if this be ſo in little Quantities, it's likely to be much more ſo in great Quantities. So far Dr. *Jordan*. Many Years ſince I bought an Ounce of the Spirit of Vitriol, at the Apothecaries Hall; when the Man, of whom I bought it, had poured it into a Glaſs, and weighed it, I told him I would have it diſcoloured: whereupon he dropt into it ſome Drops of the Spirit of Sulphur; upon which, tho they are two of the greateſt Acids we know, they preſently ſo fermented, that they crack'd the Glaſs, and the Man, after the Ferment was over, poured it into another Glaſs.

You may ſee Inſtances more than enough of this kind in the *Tract*, *de Thermis Carolinis*, writ by Dr. *Bergerus*, Profeſſor of Phyſick at *Wittenberg*, *c.* 5, 6. who, in the ſixth Chapter, writes, There is an Aluminous Earth near the River *Mulda*, betwixt *Leipſick* and *Wittemberg*, not far from the Town of *Duben*, which Earth being pregnant with the Stones called *Pyrites*, when it is dug up and caſt into great Heaps, does not only conceive a vehement Heat, but ſoon breaks out in an open Fire. So, to explain how the Motion

Motion and Action of the Sulphur on the Iron, which are joined in the *Pyrites*, is ſtirred up, he propoſes this Experiment. If you pound common Sulphur to a Powder, and mix with it an equal Quantity of Filings of Iron, and add Water to them, and work and knead them together till they have the Conſiſtency of a Paſte, as Meal has, mix'd with Water; you will find the Sulphur will work on the Iron, and, in a few hours ſpace, they will grow hot, and emit a ſulphureous Smoak and Odour, and ſoon break out in an open Flame. And I am clearly of the opinion of *Bergerus*, that the various kinds of the *Pyrites* are the chief Ingredients for cauſing all ſubterraneous Heats and Fires. And I have ſeen, in ſeveral Mines, perpendicular Beds of thoſe *Pyrites*, ſometimes a Foot, ſometimes two Foot thick, and more. And if any Man goes to the *Bath*, and knows the Smell of a burning *Pyrites*, he will eaſily perceive the *Bath-Water* has a rank Smell of the *Pyrites*.

If I ſhould proceed with what I have to offer on the Author's *Eſſay*, I muſt write a Book as large as his of it, which would be much beyond the ſhort View I intended; in which, I think, I have exceeded already: neither have I Thoughts of writing farther on it, my Hand much failing me in writing, and it not agreeing with my preſent Circumſtances to keep an *Amanuenſis*, neither will my Spirits long bear a due Attention. I believe many Perſons may wiſh the Author would haſten to make out the many Aſſertions he has advanc'd, whereby the World might partake of ſome of the great Lights he has in the Knowledge of Nature; which, if he delays, it hazards their being baulk'd for ever in their great Expectations, and no ſmall Glory may be loſt to himſelf.

Having mentioned a little before *Mendip-Hills* in *Somerſetſhire*, I cannot think of thoſe Hills without ſome Reſentment: I have by me a Tranſcript of all the

the *Mineral Laws* belonging to those Hills, which I took from the Books lodg'd in the hands of the *Lead-Reeves* belonging to the four *Lords-Royal*, to whom the Body of those Hills belongs; to which *Laws* I have writ a Preface, giving a general account of those Hills, both relating to the Mines and the Herbage: which *Laws* and *Preface* I intended to have printed in the *Natural History of that County*, which was recommended by some Gentlemen of the *Royal Society*, to be undertaken by me. And accordingly I printed a Draught of my Design, and attended the Parliament-men of that County here in *London* with it, who seem'd inclined to favour it; but it being in the Reign of the late King *James*, when People were generally uneasy, and the Disturbance of *Monmouth's* Rebellion falling chiefly on that County, it discouraged me in it: and farther, tho I believe the Gentlemen of the *Royal Society* were sincere in their Recommendation, I found there was another Party of Men, who, for Reasons known to themselves, were resolved to obstruct my Proceedings in it, and by some clandestine Practices, let me know it after a severe manner; the same Party having pursued me ever since with a far greater Severity, if we must call so, a continual thwarting all our worldly Concerns; which notwithstanding, (if I may be believed) has no way affected me, I never having sought worldly Advantages; and if at any time Fortune has thrown them on me, I think I have shewn great Indifferency in that respect. I beg the Reader's pardon for this short Digression, and shall only add, that *Somersetshire* deserves a good Natural History, it having a great diversity of Soil, and considerable Antiquities, and it affords two considerable Heads of Natural History, which Dr. *Plot* had not in his Histories of *Oxfordshire* and *Staffordshire*; I mean the Heads of Mines, and the Sea: the first of which every Man cannot undertake, for he ought to know the Terms of the Miners, and their Ways

of working, and to have made due Obſervations in Mines; which things will require ſome Time. If any Man deſires to know the Etymology of the word *Mendip*, I may acquaint him that ſome write it *Mendif*, and otherways; but doubtleſs it is originally a *Britiſh* word, *Myndidd* in the *Britiſh* ſignifying a Mountain, as you may ſee in Dr. *Davis*'s *Britiſh Dictionary*, where I firſt obſerved it, no Man having given me any intimation of it, nor has any Man, as far as I know, taken notice of this Etymology: and the higheſt Hill on *Mendip-Hills*, which ſtands above *Wells*, is called *Pen-hill*, the word *Pen* being alſo *Britiſh*, and ſignifies a Head; ſo that *Pen-hill* is the Head Hill. But to return now to my Subject.

Having intimated, before I took notice of the ſeveral *Hypotheſes* concerning the Deluge, the great Difficulties which both Divines and Philoſophers meet with in making it out according to the Letter, I ſhall here ſet down ſome of thoſe Difficulties. Some learned Men have ſet forth, and I think not without reaſon, that there muſt have been the quantity of ten Oceans of Waters to reach 15 Cubits above the higheſt Mountains; which Waters, Nature could not furniſh, without Miracle, nor get rid of them for the Deluge to ceaſe. As for what the Author of the *Eſſay* before-mentioned has intimated, that an Abyſs furniſhed thoſe Waters, when he has told us how thoſe Waters came upon the Earth, we ſhall know what to reply. Some maintain, and I think it not eaſy to refute them, that the numerous Species of Animals peculiar to *America*, and never ſeen in other Parts of the World, could not have come to the Ark, at the beginning of the Deluge to have been there preſerved, without Miracle, nor paſs back into *America*, when it was over; and this, both on the account of the Diſtance and Impaſſableneſs of the Way, and the Difference of the Climates, which all thoſe Animals could not bear: beſides the Un-

Unaccountableneſs how all the differing Species of Animals throughout all the Parts of the Earth, ſhould have intelligence that *Noah* was building an Ark to ſave himſelf and Family, and a few of each Species of Animals, and that they muſt render themſelves there for that end. Was it by a Prophetick Inſtinct, or by Angelical Miniſtry? Beſides, it ſeems ſtrange that not one of the many Species of Animals peculiar to *America* ſhould have remained here after the Flood was over, but that all of them ſhould return. Indeed *Rabbi Tanchuma* tells us, when God bid *Noah* to take into the Ark 7 Pairs of all clean Animals, *Noah* asked God how he ſhould gather them together into the Ark. Whereupon, all the Angels preſiding over every Species of Animals, deſcended and gathered them together, and Food for them: So that this Point is accounted for, if we take his word. Some of the *Rabbins* ſeem to laugh Men out of the literal Senſe of the Deluge, when they tell us, that *Ogg* King of *Baſan*, a Remnant of the Giants, rid aſtride on the Ark all the time of the Deluge, having ſworn to *Noah* and his Sons, he would be their eternal humble Servant, and that *Noah* bored a Hole in the Ark, and daily ſupply'd him with Proviſions through that Hole; and ſome ſay *Methuſalem* rode there alſo, whom the Septuagint will have to have lived fourteen Years after the Deluge. Some *Rabbins* ſay the Waters of the Deluge were all ſcalding hot, except it were thoſe near the Ark, which were kept cold by Miracle, leſt they ſhould melt the Pitch uſed about the Ark: And according to this opinion, they held that all the Fiſhes were deſtroyed; and indeed, tho the Waters of the Deluge were not hot as they ſay, it's hard to conceive, how they ſhould be ſo qualify'd, that both Freſh and Salt-Water Fiſhes ſhould live in them, and all the amphibious Animals muſt have been involved in the general Deſtruction. *Rabbi Solomon* tells us,

that when *Noah* ſent the Crow out of the Ark, the Crow flew about the Ark, and would not depart from it, fearing ſome of the Birds in the Ark might be too fond of his Mate in his Abſence. Another tells us of a Dialogue betwixt *Noah* and the *Crow*; the Crow asked *Noah* why among all the Birds and Beaſts in the Ark, he alone muſt be ſent abroad; that *Noah* anſwered, that the Crow being an unclean Animal, the World could well ſpare him, being neither good for Food nor Sacrifice: That God interpoſed, and repreſented to *Noah*, that in future times the Crow would be of great uſe, eſpecially in the time of *Elias* the *Tisbite*, to whom he would ſend the Crow to feed him; and therefore the Crow ſhould be ſpared, and kept for better Times. Again, ſome will ask what became of all the burning Mountains at the time of the Deluge, if the Waters were 15 Cubits above them; doubtleſs they would make a ſad ſputter, and cauſe ſtrange Convulſions in the Earth, before they would be extinguiſhed, eſpecially if there be a Communication betwixt thoſe *Volcano's* at ſo great a Depth in the Earth, as ſome affirm; who are led to ſuch belief, becauſe it has been obſerved, as the learned *Itigius* in his Book, *de Montium Incendiis*, informs us, that ſome burning Mountains of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *America*, have broken forth at the ſame time: I ſhall add, that thoſe Breathing-Holes of burning Mountains are of greater conſequence for the Subſiſtance of the Earth than ſome may imagine. If any Man ſhould ſay there were no Mountains before the Flood, as ſome have aſſerted that Opinion, they expoſe their Ignorance, as to the Works of Nature, not having conſidered the abſolute Neceſſity and indiſpenſable Uſe of Mountains on the Earth; and they may conſider what *Scaliger* ſays againſt *Cardan*, *Exerc.* 43. *De Montium Origine qui quærit, quærat is quoque de Maris, Cœli, & aliorum; nam pie delirant profecto quidam, qui ex Diluvio raptam ſub-*

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ductamque terram deterſoſque Montes ab Aquis in Mare præcipitantibus prodiderunt. They may alſo do well to tell us from ſome authentick Records, when *Ætna*, *Veſuvius*, and many other famous burning Mountains had their firſt Eruption; for till this be done, many will be inclined to think the time of their firſt Eruption was more antient than the time ſubſtituted for the Deluge. *Itigius* and *Crucius* are the two beſt Authors I have met with concerning burning Mountains, the former, in his Book *de Montium Incendiis*; the latter in his *Veſuvius ardens*; having examined all the Authors they could meet with concerning thoſe Eruptions, could not find any certain Records concerning it. They tell us of ſome Intervals of the burning of thoſe Mountains, but do not ſatisfy us concerning their firſt Eruptions. And *Crucius* declares it his Opinion, *pag.* 47. that *Veſuvius* was a burning Mountain from its firſt Formation, or a little after; and *Kircher* maintains that there were ſubterraneous Fires created with the Earth from the beginning, and diſtributed throughout the Univerſe, continually burning, and drawing the Air thro the Fiſſures, or Orifices of Mountains, for their Support, and purging themſelves by a diſcharge of Smoke and Soot; the Well-being of the whole ſublunary World depending on thoſe Fires.

If we conſider the Offers have been made in the Accounts of *China* concerning *Noah's* Flood, we find them various, imperfect, and indeed contradictory, and full of forc'd Conſtructions put on the faithful Annals of thoſe People. *Martinius* in the firſt *Decad* of his *Chineſe Hiſtory*, writing of *Yaus*, the ſeventh Emperor there, endeavours, tho in vain, to make the *Chineſe* Account of Time to fall in with the *Hebrew* Chronology as to *Noah's* Deluge: I ſay, in vain, becauſe this Emperor, according to him, began his Reign in the 2357th Year before *Chriſt*, which is ſooner than thoſe who adhere to the *Hebrew* Chro-

Chronology allow. And *Martinius* having mentioned a certain Deluge which happened in *China* during this Emperor's Reign, and which the *European* Chronologers would reduce to the time of *Noah's* Deluge, ſays, he ſhall eaſily grant that all the Hiſtory of that Nation till that time, was either feign'd, or relates things which happened before *Noah's Flood*; the Memory of which things haply was preſerved in the Ark, it being likewiſe the Opinion of learned Men, that many things alſo of Religion were there preſerved from Oblivion and being loſt. But to go about to perſuade the *Chineſes* to believe this, he ſays, would be an indiſcreet Undertaking, they maintaining the Credit of their antient Writings as Oracles; nor are they to be moved from it. But as for himſelf, he ſays, he makes no ſcruple to ſay that this *Yaus* was the ſame with *Janus*, the Affinity of their Names and Times perſuading it; which *Janus* is believed by many to have been *Noah*.

This Opinion of *Martinius*, that *Yaus* was the ſame with *Janus* and *Noah*, is followed by ſome others, who are for maintaining the *Hebrew* Chronology; tho *Martinius* himſelf ſpeaks doubtfully of this Opinion, *p.* 21. of his *Chineſe* Hiſtory; where, he ſays, he holds for certain the farther part of *Aſia*, which he deſcribes, was inhabited before the Flood: but it does not appear to him after what manner the Memory of things was preſerved, if all Mankind, excepting *Noah* and his Family, were wholly drown'd.

Now, to ſhew the Weakneſs of this Opinion, *viz.* that *Yaus* was the ſame with *Noah*, let it be conſidered, firſt, That tho the *Chineſes* mention a Deluge in their Country in the Reign of *Yaus*, they give not any Account of the Origin and Cauſe thereof, nor ſpeak a word of any particular Family ſaved in an Ark, nor had any Tradition concerning the *Antediluvian* Patriarchs, nor of the Creation; nor had they the leaſt knowledge of the *Hebrew Language* and *Letters*,

ters, which Language is generally look'd upon by the Learned to have been the Primitive Language, but uſed a Language and Characters wholly differing from them. Neither had they ſo much as a Name for God, as *Martinius* writes in the beginning of his *Chineſe* Hiſtory, ſaying, Concerning the chief and prime Author of things, there is a wonderful Silence among them all; for in ſo copious a Language, God has not ſo much as a Name: which *Noah* doubtleſs would have taught them, had he ever been among them. And again, notwithſtanding the Deluge mentioned in the time of *Yaus*, in which many might have periſh'd, their Nation, Emperor, and Government, ſtill continued: ſo that all theſe things conſidered, Men muſt oddly ſtrain their Fancies, to imagine this Deluge the ſame with that of *Noah*.

Secondly, Father *le Comte*, in his *Memoirs concerning China*, *Tom.* 2. *Letter* 2. writes thus: The *Chineſes*, more happy in their Beginning than any other People of the World, drew almoſt from the true Source the holy and firſt Truths of their antient Religion; the Children of *Noah*, who diſperſed themſelves in the Eaſtern *Aſia*, and probably founded this Empire, having themſelves been Witneſſes during the Deluge of the Almighty Power of the Creator, had given the Knowledge of him to their Deſcendants, and inſpired them with the Fear of him; the Footſteps we ſtill find of it in their Hiſtory, do not permit us to doubt of it. *Fohi*, the firſt Emperor of *China*, carefully bred up in his Houſe ſeven kinds of Animals for Sacrifices, which were offered to the Sovereign Spirit of Heaven and Earth, *&c.*

Here we ſee Father *le Comte* ſuppoſes the Deluge of *Noah* to have paſt before *Fohi*, who was about 600 Years before *Yaus*; and how do theſe Stories of the Deluge cohere, if it ſhall be ſaid that *Martinius* and *le Comte* go upon differing Chronologies? This will not ſatisfy, for the Queſtion will ſtill lie, How comes

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it to pass, that there is no mention in all the *Chinese* Annals or Records, of any Deluge there before *Yaus?* I doubt the *Gentiles* will not think this Question fairly answerable, and the *Chineses* being supposed by all Chronologers to have had a Government at least as near the Deluge, if not before it, as any People, they must have known it with a witness, or unquestionably received a Tradition of it; and in case of either, it's incredible they should not have conveyed this Knowledge or Tradition to Posterity. And here I must say, I cannot believe *Martinius* and *le Comte* have delivered their serious Sense in the trifling Offers they have made for proving *Noah*'s Deluge from the *Chinese* History; and I think it appears plainly enough they only thought they must say somewhat seeming to favour the commonly-received Opinion of *Noah*'s Deluge, however interfering with the *Chinese* Records. Neither can I see any thing in the Chronological Accounts of *China*, set forth by Father *Couplet* and the three Jesuits his Associates, which seems so strong for making out *Noah*'s Deluge from the *Chinese* History, as the total Silence of it in the *Chinese* Records, seems to make against it.

If it shall be said, That, tho the *Chinese* History be silent as to *Noah*'s Deluge, the Relation that *Moses* gives of it suffices; the *Gentiles* will tell you, that whereas an Annalist plainly records Facts as they happen, the End of Legislators is to establish a Government and a good Morality among Men: wherefore they must set forth Facts, be they real or feign'd, which strike the Imagination, whether they are as Judgments upon, or in favour of Mankind, who will not be brought so easily to Obedience and a Compliance with moral Duties by other means; and that the *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Egyptians*, and other Nations, constantly used this Practice for those Ends. The learned *Hottinger* in his *History of the Creation*, *p.* 9. writes, That many affect the Praise of Antiquity, which

which thoſe who are taught better, or more certain things, ought not to allow them; they are to be brought to the Fetters of the Scripture, and if they do not admit of its Authority, they are to be rejected with a generous Contempt. But the *Gentiles* will have little regard to ſuch proceeding; and Philoſophers, however they may acquieſce in Laws introduced for the Well-Government of Mankind, will not ſuffer themſelves, in the Search of Nature, to be ſtinted in their Thoughts by Legiſlators, who have other Views in what they ſet forth in that kind. This perhaps the *Chineſe* Philoſophers may here reply, for they had no notion of making a general Deluge a Symbol of a general Corruption of Mankind, as the *Greeks* and other Nations had.

Not having met with any Author who has made an Offer at explaining the Senſe of the *Gentiles*, as to the foregoing Matters, I would not with-hold from the Learned what upon long thinking, I conceive it muſt have been; which perhaps may be of ſome ſervice to them.

The learned *Leidekkerus*, in his Work *de Repub. Hebr. l. 3. c. 13.* obſerves, That while the Symbolical and Parabolical Ways of teaching were in uſe, it might well happen that Hieroglyphical or Mythical Doctrines may have paſſed inſenſibly into Hiſtories, the credulous Minds of Men believing them to be true Relations; which I look upon to have proved very detrimental to true Religion: for when Men of enquiring Spirits perceive that Parabolical and Mythological Relations are put upon them to be believed as real Truths, it breeds a Confuſion in their Underſtandings, and they know not where the end of impoſing will be. And, I think, ſince the Parabolical Way of teaching is antiquated, if Divines, inſtead of amuſing the World with many uſeleſs, if not pernicious Diſputes, would beſtow ſome time in fairly ſetting forth what is meerly Parabolical or My-

thical in Doctrines relating to their Function, which have been derived to us from the antient Mythical or Ante-historical Times; it would be of good service to Mankind, to keep them from straining their Wits in contriving *Hypotheses* and other Ways to salve Difficulties raised meerly on imaginary Foundations. So *Maimonides*, in his Preface to his *More Nevochim*, writes as follows: The Intent of this Book is to explain the abstruse and mythical Passages which occur in the Writings of the Prophets, of which it is not expresly said that they are Parables, but are so proposed, that it seems to the Ignorant and Unskilful they ought to be understood according to the literal Sense; nor does any thing appear to them to lie hid under the Letter, but being weighed and examined by learned and intelligent Men according to the literal Sense, they presently have Scruples and Doubts in their Minds, which I endeavour to clear in great part in this Book. *Bullialdus*, in his Commentary on *Ptolomey's Tract de Judicandi Facultate, &c. p. 99.* tells us, That when this Book of *Maimonides* was first brought out of *Egypt* into *France*, the *Jews* there conspiring, caused it to be burnt, because it seemed much to favour the Truth of the Christian Religion. Tho perhaps it may have been, partly, for that it lays open some parts of the Law, which they were more inclined to have kept in Mystery.

Strabo, lib. 1. says, It is necessary for Legislators and States to adopt the Fables of the Poets, for imprinting a Sense of Religion on the Minds of the People: For do not imagine, saith he, that Women and the Vulgar can be brought to Faith and Piety by Philosophical Discourses; for this there is need of Superstition, and without Fables you cannot introduce Superstition. It was necessary therefore to forge Fables, as Apparitions and Hobgoblins, to terrify the Ignorant. Philosophy is but for a few, Fables are a publick Good, and fill the Theatres.

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In reference to this Symbolical Doctrine, *Gallæus*, *p.* 904. on *Lactantius*, writes, *Moſes* contradicts the Fable of the *Phœnix*, *Gen. ch.* 7. *ver.* 9. which, if the holy Fathers had conſidered, they would not have abuſed that Fable to eſtabliſh the Reſurrection of the Dead. That Simile might be of force to reprove the *Gentiles*, who denied the Reſurrection of the Fleſh; but not with Chriſtians, who ought to be taught the Myſtery of the Reſurrection from the Word of God, and not from thoſe idle Fables. *Bochart* deals more gently with theſe Fathers, ſaying, If they failed in that reſpect, it was not done thro an Intent of deceiving, but thro Credulity.

I know, tho *Maimonides* is free to intimate which of the Paſſages of the Prophets are Parables, and which not; yet he is againſt laying open all things to the People: for in the firſt part of his Book, *c.* 17. he ſays, Do not think that only Divine Wiſdom is to be hid from the Vulgar and the Generality of Men, for we judge the ſame of Natural Wiſdom, which he calls *Opus Bereſchit*, as he does the other *Opus de Mercavah*; and tells us, it is a Saying among the Wiſemen, *In opere Mercavah ne coram unico quidem niſi fuerit ſapiens, intelligens, & tum tradent ei ſumma tantum & generalia capita; & in opere Bereſchit, ne in duobus quidem.* And this way of proceeding, he ſays, was not only in uſe among the Doctors of their Law, but was alſo antiently obſerved by the Philoſophers and Wiſemen among the *Gentiles*, who hid their Principles, and ſpake of them in *Ænigma's*.

Now in reference to this, I think, as to Divine Matters relating to the Spirit, it would be to no purpoſe to talk of them among the vulgar and unexperienced Perſons, ſuch Matters being in their nature unexplicable by Man, the Knowledge of them being practical, and ariſing only from the internal Operation of the Spirit; and tho ſome Writers of myſtical Divinity have explained the Nature of that internal

Operation as clearly as poſſible, yet common Readers take no Guſt in it, it not falling under their Apprehenſions. But how far a diſconſolate Cloud muſt be kept over Mens Underſtandings in reference to natural Knowledge, it does not well appear to me from any extraordinary Effects I have obſerved among Nations where ſuch Managements have been practiſed. For if the *Chineſes*, without Mythological Philoſophy or Theology, or Ænigmatical Doctrines, have carry'd on as antient, and perhaps as good a Government as the World has had: I ſee not why this myſterious way muſt be always continued in all Countries, tho it might have been uſeful, and fit to be practiſed in ſome Nations for a time, where the People were rude and barbarous, and of a perverſe and intractable Diſpoſition, and while all Learning, both Divine and Natural, was among the Prieſthood, and they uſed both as they pleaſed. But if any Men now ſhould urge the Continuance of that myſterious Cloud over the Heads of Natural Philoſophers in things that belong to their Province, I doubt they would ſcarce be able to contain them from crying out, *ad Populum Phaleras*. Not but I well know there are ſome things relating to natural Knowledge which naturally carry an Injunction of Secrecy in them, ſo that thoſe who are let into the Myſtery, if they are in their Senſes, will not divulge them, nor communicate them to others, unleſs it be by ſome ſecret Ways known to themſelves, and ſo that the Parties to whom they are communicated ſhall never know whence it comes. Much more might be ſaid concerning theſe Matters, but I muſt not forget that I write a Letter, and conclude.

If *Noah*'s Deluge ſhould be explained according to the Senſe of the *Gentiles*, it would draw after it many other things which would require to be explained otherwiſe than generally they have been hitherto, and which may require ſome Conſideration; but

but till I have the Senſe of ſome learned Perſons concerning what I have here written, and particularly your own, which I much deſire you will favour me with, I ſhall not enlarge at preſent. If any Man ſhall ſay, I ſeem in ſome places to preſs things too far in favour of the Opinion of the *Gentiles*, I ſhall only reply, that I know not how Truth can be well eſtabliſhed, but by having all Objections well ventilated, that things may be ſet in a clear Light to Man's Underſtanding. And as all Academies allow an Arguing *Pro* and *Con* on all Subjects for that end, I deſire what I have here written may be look'd upon as an Academical Exercitation, which I preſume I may promiſe myſelf from your Candour; being,

S I R,

Your Very Humble Servant,

J. Beaumont.

A

DISCOURSE

OF

ORACLES:

GIVING

An Account of the Sybilline *Oracles; with an uncommon Explication of* VIRGIL'S *fourth Eclogue, and ſome other Parts of his Works relating to them.*

DR. *Van Dale* is not the only Perſon who has been inclined to believe that the Oracles of the *Gentiles* were carried on meerly by the Impoſture of the Prieſts, without any Co-operation of evil Spirits in thoſe Performances: for *Cælius Rhadiginus*, *Lect. Ant. l.* 2. *c.* 12. writes concerning the Oracles as follows.

The

The Oracles, tho they have been often found to be very vain, yet it's moſt certain that the moſt antient Divines and *Platoniſts* were wont to pay a very great Reverence to them, and endeavour'd to uphold them with Reaſons. But as there were three kinds of Theology among the Antients; one *Fabulous*, which they called alſo Hiſtorical, chiefly aſcribed to the Poets; the ſecond, *Natural*, which is Myſtical, and entertained by the Philoſophers; the third, *Civil*, which grew in uſe in Cities by Cuſtom, and ſo became eſtabliſhed by Laws: Oracles and their Anſwers were compriſed in this laſt kind; and if we make a curious Search whence Oracles firſt crept into the World, I have found, as it ſeems to me, by a long and continual Reading, that they were not inſtituted or propagated by the Gods, nor Devils, but by certain crafty Men, who would make a gainful Trade of them. Which was the Opinion of the moſt famous *Greek* Philoſophers, the *Peripateticks*, *Cynicks*, and *Epicureans*; by whoſe Writings the Vanity of the Oracles is not only laid open, but the Evils thence ariſing are plainly demonſtrated: and this is proved by the ſubt'ly contrived Anſwers of the Oracles, fitted to any Event, and given by wicked Men, too much practiſed in Impoſture, and tricking others, thro a Principle of Avarice. Which Anſwers were framed or patch'd together by a combined Deceit, after their Emiſſaries or Spies, of whom they had many, who were Partakers of their Wickedneſs and Gains, had roved about Cities to help to carry on the Cheat. For theſe Men moſt diligently enquired into what People had an occaſion to know, and informed the Managers of the Oracles, who attending in the obſcure Caves, gave Anſwers to thoſe who came to conſult them, whom the great Deſire implanted in Men of knowing what is to come, often combined with Folly, prompted to it. This is an Evidence of the Cheat, that many of the Soothſayers and

and Prophets having been put to the Rack, have confeſſed that the whole Prieſtly Office of Divining was carried on by their Frauds. I know *Lactantius* writes, and *Apuleius* ſeems to confirm it, that Aſtrology, Divination by Birds and Oracles, are the Inventions of *Dæmons*, whoſe Buſineſs it is to darken, or caſt Miſts before the Truth. Haply theſe things may not be wholly tranſacted without *Dæmons* being concerned, as they join with natural Cauſes. If you ask after what manner *Dæmons* are able to know future things, *Porphyrius*, in a Book he publiſhed concerning Oracles, ſays, That whatever future things are predicted, by Oracles, they are all predicted from an Obſervation of the Heavens; but you muſt know, ſays he, that the Gods alſo often lye, for there is no certain and clear Foreſight of future things, which are not only involved in Intricacies, as to Men, but likewiſe moſt uncertain, and all beſet with deceitful Circumſtances as to the Gods themſelves: and if it happens that ſome God has a Foreknowledge of ſome things, yet it does not happen to him at all times.

Huetius, at the end of his *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, writes concerning the Oracles as follows:

Before I make an end, I think it proper for me to ſay ſomewhat of the Oracles of the *Gentiles*, which for a very long time, under the colour of a Prophetick Faculty, fool'd the Vulgar, and may furniſh an Argument to the Adverſaries of the Chriſtian Law for invalidating the Force of the Predictions of the Old Teſtament. But if the Prophecies with which they defend themſelves, were Lyes and Impieties, what Support can Truth have from them? Even when thoſe Oracles flouriſhed moſt, they had ſo little Credit amongſt Men of a ſound Senſe, that nothing was more contemptible among them, as appears from *Cicero*, *lib.* 2. *de Divin.* and from *Origen*, *lib.* 7. againſt *Celſus*, where he ſets forth, that *Ariſtotle* and the *Peripateticks*, and *Epicurus* and his Followers, deſpiſed

and refuted those Oracles, which, by a common Custom, derived from Ancestors, were received with Admiration throughout all *Greece*. And *Porphyrius*, a Man very well known in these Matters, openly confesses the Vanity of the Oracles, he having writ a Book of the Philosophy drawn from Oracles. I could easily confirm the Thing with many Testimonies, Examples, and Reasons; but since *Eusebius*, throughout his whole sixth Book, *de Præp. Evang.* has performed it, I refer the Reader to him. The same altogether is to be thought of the *Sybilline* Verses; not only of those new ones we have, which are commonly censured of Imposture, but likewise of the antient, which the Antients mention, censured also by *Cicero*, *lib.* 2. *de Divin.* After the useful Labour bestowed by *Blondel* in demonstrating the Vanity of those Writings, it would be a Labour useless to the Reader, and ungrateful to myself, to write more at large on this Argument. So far these two Authors, *Rhodiginus* and *Huetius*, whom we see much inclined to Dr. *Van Dale*'s Opinion; tho for some Reasons, perhaps, they do not plainly speak out, and fully declare for his Opinion, as we find Mr. *de Fontenelle* has done, in the Abridgment he has published of Dr. *Van Dale*'s Book *de Orat. Vet. Ethnic.*

Now, since *Huetius* has intimated, as we have seen before, that the *Sybilline* Verses are wholly to be charged of Vanity and Imposture, as the other Oracles are, especially as to what they are said to contain concerning Christ; I shall first speak of the *Sybils* and their Verses, and then of the other Oracles. And I must say, that among all the Authors I have met with, *Boxhornius* seems to me to have given the most judicious and concise Account of the *Sybilline* Verses, tho I have read *Blondel* of the *Sybils*, and *Crasset* against him, and *Markius* against *Crasset*, and *Crasset*'s Reply, and more than twenty other Authors concerning the *Sybils* and Oracles; some of them being pretty

pretty voluminous. But as *Boxhornius*'s Account pleaſes me beſt, I ſhall here give you an Abſtract of it.

Boxhornius, near the Beginning of his *Hiſtoria Univerſalis*, writes concerning the *Sybils* thus:

Some of the Antients will have it, and ſome of the Moderns believe, that the Birth of *Chriſt* was known to *Auguſtus* from the *Sybilline* Oracles, and that thence it came to paſs that he who at firſt was very averſe to the *Jewiſh* Worſhip, became changed afterwards, and had a great Eſteem for the *Jewiſh* Religion; but they amuſe us with Fables. Many of the Fathers tell us, that the *Sybils* propheſied ſome things concerning Chriſt; nor do I, to ſpeak with the learned *Caſaubon*, wholly deny it: but that *Auguſtus* knew any thing certain of the King *Meſſias*, and particularly of his Coming, from the *Sybils* Verſes, none of the Fathers have ſaid it, and thoſe are in a great Error who believe it. The People of the *Jews*, and ſo Chriſt's Diſciples, who had read the Scriptures, and had heard the Predictions concerning *Chriſt* often expounded in the Synagogues by the Scribes and other Doctors, did not, even at the time when they lived with our Lord, ever ſuſpect any ſuch thing. The Diſciples of *John Baptiſt*, who had heard their Maſter preaching concerning *Chriſt*, and had ſeen the Dove falling from Heaven on him, yet when *John* was kept in Priſon, near his End, they remained Unbelievers, and forced him to ſend to our Lord, to ask whether he were the Perſon to come, or whether they muſt expect another, *Mat.* 11. 3. And ſhall we believe that the *Pagans*, taught by their *Sybils*, knew ſo great a Myſtery? Shall we then equal or criminally prefer the *Sybilline* Oracles to the truly inſpired Oracles of God? Very learned Divines have called *Iſaias* an Evangelical Prophet, for his plain Predictions of the *Meſſias* to come; but in all the Prophecy of *Iſaias*, no ſuch thing is read, as muſt have been in the Books

of the *Sybils*, if that be true which is said of *Augustus*. I conclude therefore, that all those so very plain Prophecies concerning Christ, which many ascribe to the *Sybils*, were undoubtedly drawn by some Christian or Semi-christian Impostor, from the History of the Gospel.

There is one thing which may be objected to me, *viz.* the *Cumæan* Verse, mentioned in the fourth *Eclogue* of *Virgil*, who flourished under *Augustus*, and which no Man can say to be an Invention of the Christians; and the most learned Christian Fathers interpret those things to be said of *Christ*, which seem by way of Flattery to be ascribed by *Virgil* to the Son of *Pollio*: and it's manifest that *Eusebius*, St. *Austin*, and others of the Fathers, and many other learned Men, have affirmed, that what is delivered by *Virgil* from the *Sybil* cannot truly be interpreted of any other but of *Christ*; and *Eusebius*, at the end of the Life of *Constantine*, where he explains that *Eclogue* of *Virgil*, tells us, that the Poet, to avoid being censured by some great Men, as writing against the Laws of his Country, and disturbing the Belief received from their Ancestors, has cast a Veil over the Truth, by modifying his Matter, so as to make it seem liable to a plausible Construction.

I do not doubt but such Authorities and Testimonies will be brought against me, to make out, that the *Sybils* have delivered such things as are said of them concerning the Coming and Ministry of Christ; but those are no less in an Error who have delivered those things, than those who embrace them. And I will set forth what I conceive to be the Truth of this Matter. I do not deny, that tho the Scripture, and Histories divinely inspired concerning the Coming and Life of our Lord, abundantly suffice to establish a Christian's Faith; yet that there is somewhat of weight, especially for overcoming the Incredulity of the *Pagans*, in those Testimonies of the

Pagans,

Pagans, by which the Truth of the Hiſtory of the Goſpel is confirmed: And indeed they are much to be valued. But, I ſay, I muſt alſo here neceſſarily confeſs, that an Injury, and that a very great one, is done the Truth, when a Lye, or that which is falſe, is called in to its Patronage; for it does not want ſuch Defenders. That the *Sybilline* Oracles are falſe, for that the Authors lye, I think appears plainly enough from what I have ſet forth before, tho many things publiſhed under the Name of the *Sybils*, may contain Truths not to be doubted of. As for the Argument of the *Cumæan* Verſe, I own that thoſe things are undoubtedly true, and ought to be applied to Chriſt alone, which are ſaid in it. But as true as thoſe things are, ſo falſe it is that the *Cumæan Sybil* delivered them, tho it be ſo ſaid by the Prince of the *Roman* Poets: And I will lay open the Origin of this Fiction, or Lye, that Men may underſtand that what is truly foretold of Chriſt and his Coming, is falſely affirmed to have been predicted by the *Sybil*. And the thing, as I think, is evidently thus; and I believe that no Man, who duly conſiders it, will deny it. It's known among Chriſtians, that from the beginning of the World, after the Fall of our firſt Parents, in whom all their Poſterity ſtood condemn'd, there was an Oracle delivered from the Mouth of God concerning a Mediator betwixt him offended, and guilty Men; and that this Mediator would take on him, at his appointed time, human Fleſh from a Woman, for the Salvation of Man. It's alſo known, that ſuch kind of Oracles were afterwards repeated often from the Mouths and Writings of the Patriarchs and Prophets by God's Inſpiration. It's likewiſe known, that an expreſs Mention was made in thoſe Oracles of a Scepter, a Kingdom, a Leader, Prince, and King. It's laſtly known, that the vulgar *Jews* interpreting theſe things, took all of them concerning the King *Meſſias*, and his Kingdom, and a Kingdom

Kingdom of this World, tho unadviſedly, as the thing itſelf ſhewed. Nor is it to be doubted but the ambitious, boaſting and inſolent Nation of the *Jews* always talked high of theſe Oracles, and of this their Opinion among the reſt of the Eaſtern People, and perſuaded them there would ſome time come a Prince from the Eaſt, and from *Judea*, who would reign far and near. When the *Gentiles* had received theſe things from the *Jews*, as the *Jews* had received them from the Prophets, the *Gentiles* not knowing the Prophets, who were divinely inſpired with the Oracles, aſcribed them to their Prophets, eſpecially to the *Sybils*; therefore whatever things are read as foretold by theſe concerning a Lord and King to come, ſuch as the *Meſſias* was, had doubtleſs their Origin from the Prophets of the Old Teſtament, and not from the *Sybils*. The Prophets and Prieſts of the *Gentiles* either foretold nothing concerning Chriſt, or if any thing might ſeem predicted by them, they uttered what was predicted before by the Prophets, and conveyed to them by the hands of the *Jews*. Wherefore the *Sybils*, in truth, only related the Prophecies of others, and did not propheſy themſelves. There is no Man that reads the Scriptures, but muſt know that God has not done to any Nation, or People, as he has done to the *Jews*: For Myſteries were revealed by the Patriarchs, *Moſes*, and the Prophets, concerning the Fall of our firſt Parents, the Redemption of Mankind by the Seed of the Woman, which ſhould bruiſe the Head of the Serpent, that is, by the Redeemer and Saviour of all who ſhould believe in Jeſus Chriſt; and concerning other things which belong to Man's eternal Salvation. Theſe things were not formerly revealed to the *Gentiles*, otherwiſe the *Jews* had not been dealt with after another manner than other Nations, but it appears they were otherwiſe dealt with; wherefore the *Jews* are called God's People, and they are ſo by a ſingular Title and

and Prerogative, becauſe then thoſe things concerning the Salvation of Mankind by the Coming and Incarnation of the *Meſſias*, were made certain and manifeſt to the *Jews* alone. If to the *Jews* alone, if to the ſole People of God, which is the *Judaick*, wherefore, or how may we believe that the ſame things were known to other Nations, unleſs haply by the *Jews*? And indeed, as we have ſaid already, the Nations knew ſome things concerning the Coming of a King who would reſtore moſt happy Times to Mankind; but not by the Oracles of the *Sybils*, or others, but by what they had delivered to them, and received from the *Jews*, to whom firſt and ſolely theſe things were revealed by God's ſole Inſpiration, firſt from his Mouth, and afterwards by the Patriarchs and Prophets. Nothing is more certain than theſe things.

That the things we have hitherto declared concerning this Matter, are undoubtedly true, and deſerve Credit from thoſe that judge rightly, contrary to what has been delivered and believed to this time, may be certainly made to appear, as it ſeems to me, even from the Oracles themſelves ſpread abroad concerning the Coming of Chriſt, both before his Coming, and about the Time of it, throughout the whole Eaſt, and very much ſpoken of among the *Romans* themſelves; thoſe Oracles being taken from the Prophetick Books of the Old Teſtament, and made known by the *Jews* to the *Gentiles*. If we look into the chiefeſt and nobleſt of them mentioned by *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*, we ſhall find the thing to be as I have ſaid. I ſhall ſpeak firſt of that mentioned by *Suetonius*.

The Oracle which chiefly makes for this, and which was moſt ſpoken of about the time of the Birth of *Auguſtus*, and ſo near the Birth of Chriſt, is recited by *Suetonius* in the Life of *Auguſtus*, from the Hiſtory of the Life and Affairs of the ſaid *Cæſar*, writ

writ by *Julius Marathus*, whom of a Bond-man he had made free. The Words of *Suetonius* are theſe: *Julius Marathus* tells us, *That a few Months before* Auguſtus *was born, a publick Prodigy happened at* Rome. He underſtands by the word *Prodigy* (as appears by the Sequel) *an Oracle, whereby it was declared, that Nature was bringing forth a King for the People of* Rome; *that the Senate being frighted, decreed that no one born that Year ſhould be brought up; that thoſe who had Wives with Child, as every Man might hope, took care that the Decree of the Senate ſhould not be carried to the Treaſury.* This is a remarkable Paſſage, and ſo much the more worthy Obſervation, becauſe none of the Chriſtians, as far as I know, have mentioned it, even where they contend that the Coming of the King Jeſus Chriſt, and his Birth, were known to the *Gentiles*. The Oracle therefore mentioned by *Julius Marathus*, was received by the *Romans* from the *Jews* and the Eaſt, together with that perverſe Opinion which the *Jews* were then poſſeſſed of, concerning the Reign of the King *Meſſias*, which they would have to be only of this World. Therefore that appears to be true which I ſaid, that the Oracles which formerly were uttered concerning Chriſt, being corrupted by the ill Interpretation of the *Jews*, and ſo delivered to the *Pagans*, gave them an occaſion of aſcribing them rather to another, as to *Auguſtus*, and others, than to Chriſt, to whom alone they are to be referred, and whom alone they ſignify. Thoſe Oracles therefore which, being known to the *Gentiles*, mentioned the Birth of the Lord *Meſſias*, and not being well underſtood by them, are aſcribed to others not concerned in them, were not from the *Sybils* and other Prophets among the *Pagans*, but from the antient Prophets; which being received from the *Jews*, the *Gentiles*, both thro Ignorance of the Truth, and a Deſire of flattering their Princes, would have to be uttered con-

concerning them; whereas they ſignified none but Chriſt.

The Coming of the *Meſſias* was leſs known to none than to the *Jews* themſelves, tho from the Divine Oracles which they had in their cuſtody, it might and ought to have been moſt known to them. But at the Coming of Chriſt, the Church of the *Jews* was all fallen into Factions, and they minded more the fomenting, promoting, and increaſing of Parties, as every Man was diſpoſed, than the Truth; Examples of which kind, every Age more than ſufficiently ſhews. Whence it came to paſs that the chief Oracles, and eſpecially thoſe delivered formerly concerning the *Meſſias*, were either neglected, or little underſtood by moſt, tho the *Jews* ought chiefly to have had a regard to, and conſidered moſt thoſe Oracles in which their greateſt Concern undoubtedly lay. Thus the Key of Knowledge, ſo called by our Saviour, *Luke* 3. 52. was concealed, and that Key of Knowledge was, without all doubt, an Inſtruction, that is, certain Rudiments, as it were, from which, and by which the Oracles of the Prophets being explained as they ought, the Coming of the *Meſſias* might be underſtood. But in that Matter the Maſters and Doctors of the *Jews* both had been, and then were either as no body, or moſt negligent.

After ſome Leaves, *Boxhornius* adds: It appears that about theſe Times both the *Jews* and *Romans* talked of an Oracle that a King ſhould ariſe, who coming from *Judea*, ſhould reign every where. Which the *Jews* interpreted of the worldly and large-extended Empire of the *Meſſias*, and King of the *Jews*; and the *Romans* afterwards of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*. *Tacitus* expreſly mentions this, *Hiſt.* 5. *Many*, ſaith he, *were perſuaded it was contained in the antient Books of the Prieſts, that at that time the Eaſt would prevail, and Men come from* Judea *would have the Dominion; which roundabout Speech foretold* Veſpaſian *and* Titus. *But the vulgar* Jews, *according as Men are led by human Affections,*

interpreting this great Fate for themſelves, were not changed even by Adverſity to an owning of the Truth. Nor does *Suetonius* otherwiſe expreſs himſelf in *Veſpaſian: There was an antient and conſtant Opinion,* ſays he, *that it was ordered by Fate, that at that time Men coming from* Judea *ſhould have the Dominion. This being predicted of the* Roman *Emperor, and the* Jews *drawing it to themſelves, rebelled.* Authors agree in it. Doubtleſs the Coming of a Perſon about theſe Times, and the Reign which was not of this World, and both *Jews* and *Romans* were ignorant of, were ſignified of the Lord *Meſſias.* And if we carefully compare, as we ought, the Words of this Oracle with that of the Prophet, which is extremely like it, and expreſſed almoſt in as many Words, concerning the Coming of the King *Meſſias,* we ſhall find it taken from the Prophetical, and delivered from the Eaſt to the *Romans.* Not only the Senſe of the Oracle, but even the Words were theſe; *At that time one proceeding from* Judea *ſhall rule.* So both ſpeak and deliver the Oracle, *Suetonius* and *Tacitus, That Men proceeding from* Judea *ſhall bear Sway.* They write in the Plural Number, becauſe the *Romans* interpreted it of two, *Titus* and *Veſpaſian.* That Plural Number therefore does not ſeem to be ſo much of the Oracle, as of the Interpreters of the two, *Titus* and *Veſpaſian.* Nothing more like (nay, it appears it muſt really be ſaid to be one and the ſame Oracle) than that of the Prophet, obſerved and repeated by the Evangeliſts, in which it is expreſly ſaid of *Bethlehem* of *Judea,* a Leader ſhall proceed from thee. *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* went from *Rome* and *Italy* into *Judea,* and were not *Jews* of *Judea* by Origin, that they ſhould bear Sway: and the Queſtion is concerning a *Jew* by Origin, who ſhould bear Sway, who is no other than the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and ſo Lord of all, Jeſus Chriſt. From the things which are ſaid before concerning this Argument, it clearly appears, that neither the *Sibyls* knew, or predicted any thing of thoſe which ſome

would

would have them, concerning the Coming of the *Meſſias*; much leſs that others from conſulting and inſpecting their Oracles, could have a certain knowledge of them. It appears alſo, (or I much deviate from Reaſon, and the high Road of Truth, for the finding out and ſhewing of which, this my Labour, whatever it be, is employed) that neither *Auguſtus*, or any other *Romans* who were *Pagans*, had any thing of certain Knowledge, even from the true prophetical and divinely-inſpired Oracles, concerning the Incarnation of the King *Meſſias*. Since they falſely and ambitiouſly interpreted the true prophetick Oracles, received from the *Jews* concerning the King *Meſſias*, (not underſtood by the *Jews* themſelves) of the *Roman Cæſars*, and extending their Reign or Empire far and wide, as the *Jews* alſo did of their King. The thing ſpeaks itſelf, and is clear: Nor do I by this *Diſſertation* detract any thing from the Chriſtian Hiſtory of the Coming of our Lord, but I would only have thoſe and the like things taken away and expunged, which are but the Inventions of idle and fooliſh Men, ignorant of things formerly done; who, under I know not what colour of ſetting off Chriſtianity to an advantage, which, as plainly delivered by the Evangeliſts, and according to Truth, when well underſtood, is highly ſufficient for a Chriſtian, have publiſhed falſe things for true, and ridiculous things for magnificent. So far *Boxhornius*, who ſeems to me to have ſaid here enough to leſſen the Eſteem which ſome may have for the *Sibylline* Oracles. I ſhall here ſubjoin a Paſſage from St. *Auſtin* relating to what is ſaid before, which I conceive may help to ſettle Men's Thoughts in this Matter.

St. *Auſtin*, *lib.* 18. *de Civ. Dei*, *c.* 26. writes thus, ſpeaking of the *Gentiles*: Since they do not believe our Scriptures, their own, which they read as blind Men, are fulfilled in them, unleſs haply ſome one will ſay that the Chriſtians feigned thoſe Prophecies

concerning Christ, which are produced under the Name of the *Sibyl*, or of others. And again, *c.* 27. It may be thought that all Prophecies which are produced from others than the *Jews* concerning the Grace of God thro Christ Jesus, are forged by the Christians; and therefore there is nothing more strong to convince all Aliens, if they contend concerning this thing, and to uphold our own Men, if they think rightly, than that those Divine Prophecies may be produced concerning Christ, which are written in the Books of the *Jews*.

On this Passage the learned Mr. *Blondel* writes as follows: Would to God the Children of the Church had kept themselves to these Bounds, and banished from their Hearts the evil Ambition of rendring themselves Authors of some pious Frauds, and had conceived an holy Shame at those Frauds that Impostors had tried to introduce into the House of God.

To give you some farther Light concerning the *Sibyls*, I shall here set before you what the learned *Micrælius*, in the first Volume of his *Ethnophronius*, *l.* 3. *dial.* 2. writes concerning them, as follows:

There is one thing holds me in Suspense, Whether the same Judgment is to be passed of the *Sibyls*, as of the other *Daimoniolepti*; and I judge that as almost all particular Nations had their *Sibyls*, we must not think the same of all of them, as those People did not think the same thing. And if we believe *Bucer*, the word *Sibyl* did not antiently denote a divining Woman, but a religious Doctrine concerning God and Divine Things. Thus therefore they do not err who say, that even in the Times of *Noah*, the most antient and first *Sibyl* of all was a *Hebrew*, called *Sambethes* or *Sabbes*, perhaps from the *Sabbatum* of the *Israelites*; whence also *Sabatius Saga*, the chief Pontiff from *Armenia* even to *Bactria*, mentioned by *Berosus*, drew his Name. For the genuine Doctrine con-

concerning God, and the moſt antient Religion of the Patriarchs, (the Poſterity of *Noah* being diſperſed into the moſt remote Parts of the Earth) was not preſently obliterated, and each particular Country had in eſteem their own *Sibyl*, their *Cabala*, Wiſdom and Religion. Some preſerved uncorrupted what they had drawn from the Religion of the Patriarchs; ſome ſooner, ſome later, receded from the Footſteps of their Anceſtors, and having received and approved various Corruptions, made themſelves new Religions. Thence the *Chaldeans* had their *Sibyl*, which converted Theology into Philoſophy; the *Egyptians* theirs, which added *Præſtigia* and the Magick Arts; and the *Greeks* theirs, which, from *Candia* and *Thebes*, invaded almoſt the whole World with Fables and ſubtile Allegories. We muſt not therefore have the ſame regard for all the *Sibyls*, nor all Religions; for thoſe that agree with the *Hebrew*, muſt be owned to have acknowledged the true God: but thoſe whom an evil Error had drawn to the Worſhip of many Gods, I boldly ſay, they were inſpired by evil Spirits. There were poſſibly many Women, who, tho called by various Names, might have all come under the ſingle Name of *Sibyls*, or, according to the *Chaldeans*, of *Sambetheſes*, becauſe they admoniſhed Men concerning Religion, being moved to it by a peculiar *Afflatus*. There were alſo Propheteſſes among the People of God, filled with the celeſtial Deity, whoſe Miniſtry God uſed in declaring his Will, whom thoſe that pleaſe, may call *Sibyls*. Yet it hence appears that many *Sibyls*, mentioned by Hiſtorians worthy of Credit, were not moved by a good, but a bad Genius; that they were more employed in promoting Superſtitions, than in aboliſhing them. And this may be ſeen even from thoſe Books which *Amalthea*, the *Cumæan Sibyl*, whom others call *Herophile*, offered to *Tarquin*; for in theſe, *Lectiſternia* were commanded for procuring the Favour of *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and

and *Neptune*; and other things were contained in them, making for the ſuperſtitious Worſhip of *Dæmons*. To which we may add, that the Fury and Rage with which moſt of the *Sibyls*, and even the *Cumæan Sibyl* of *Virgil*, when Anſwers were to be given, were agitated, is a manifeſt Sign that they were in the power of evil Spirits who moved them. For the true Prophets underſtood Viſions without Madneſs, and therefore they were called Seers. And as often as the Prophets of the *Gentiles* uttered things to come, not diſcerned in their Cauſes, nor ſuggeſted by evil *Dæmons*, but revealed from God, God would have it to be made appear from this ſpecial Illumination, as by a certain Pledge, that it would come to paſs, that the *Gentiles* would ſome time be ſupplied with Waters from that perpetual Fountain, whence the Houſe of *Juda*, as being in their Inheritance, drew Waters plentifully. *Balaam* is an Example, and he whom *Paul* calls *Epimenides*, a Prophet of *Candia*. The Apoſtle calls him a Prophet, not a Poet, or Philoſopher; for *Plato*, *Laertius*, and others, teſtify, that he was skilful in Divination, and writ a Book concerning Oracles. Among all the Prophets of the *Gentiles*, *Mopſus*, *Idmon*, *Tireſias*, *Telemus*, *Amphiaraus*, *Hellenus*, *Martius*, *Zoroaſter*, *Hydaſpes*, had a great Eſteem for the *Sibyls*; nor were the *Sibylline* Oracles forged by the Chriſtians, as *Caſaubon* intimates, and *Mountague* argues againſt him. So far *Micrælius*.

Here I may obſerve, that as *Peucer* ſays, the word *Sibyl* did not antiently denote a divining Woman, but a religious Doctrine concerning God and Divine Things: and as we are not certified from Hiſtory concerning the Number of the *Sibyls*, the Times they lived in, their Age, Lives, Religion, and the like; ſo it ſeems we are left to judge of them as we think good, whether thoſe Writers were Men or Women, the Truth of the Matter not being retrievable. *Socinus*, in what he writes againſt *Wiekus*, endeavours to

to make the Exiſtence of the *Sibyls* doubtful, ſaying, It's likely that what is related of the *Sibyls*, are Fables; and that it ſeems we ought rather to believe they never exiſted, becauſe no one in their time has written any thing of them. But notwithſtanding what *Socinus* ſays, it cannot be doubted but there were Books which antiently came abroad under the Names of *Sibyls*; ſome of the *Gentiles* before Chriſt (who cannot be ſuſpected of Fraud) having quoted ſuch. But I think what he ſays may very well ſerve to confirm the Doubt of the Authors of thoſe Books, and if I may be free to give my Opinion concerning them, I believe the Perſons who wrote the Oracles (ſuch as they were antiently) aſcribed to the *Sibyls*, were the Prieſts attending the Oracles, who might be called *Sibyls*, that Word ſignifying Partakers of God's Counſels, as they pretended themſelves to be. And theſe Prieſts are known to have been very ready at verſifying, they always putting into Verſe the Anſwers the *Pythia* delivered in Proſe. And it's known that *Heſiod*, who by ſome learned Men is affirmed to be the *Cumæan Sibyl* whom *Virgil* means, and who was born at *Cuma* in the *Leſſer Aſia*, was a Prieſt belonging to a Temple dedicated to *Apollo* and the Muſes, ſeated at the Mountain *Helicon*, not far from *Parnaſſus*, where he compoſed his chief Poem, preſcribing certain Laws, as it were, of Well-living to his People; and in which he particularly ſets forth the Ages, to which *Virgil* refers. And it's a farther Inducement for me to believe the Managers of the Oracles were the Writers of the *Sibylline* Verſes; becauſe, as Sir *John Floyer*, in his *Hiſtory of the* Sibylline *Oracles*, where he anſwers *Opſopæus*'s Objection, well obſerves, that from thoſe Oracles, *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Heſiod*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, and all the *Greek* Philoſophers, borrowed their Notion of the Creation, the Deluge, the Rewards of the Juſt, and Puniſhments of the Wicked, the Golden Age, their Sacrifices, the Conflagration

flagration of the World, *&c.* For as there seems to be no doubt but the Writers of the Oracles (whoever they were) had a good understanding with the Legislators and other Managers of Civil Governments, they knew with what Opinions the People ought to be possessed.

As the Story of a *Sibyl*'s carrying Books to *Tarquin* seems to me fabulous, I am inclined to think that those Books were originally introduced by the *Romans*, on a politick account, by the State, to amuse the People, as Occasions might present, in Difficulties of Government, which will often occur in all States. And thus I may agree with Mr. *Whiston*, in his *Vindication of the* Sibylline *Oracles*, that a difference ought to be made betwixt the Capitoline Copy of the Oracles, and the others. Near the beginning of his Book, after he has set down from *Vopiscus* an Account of the Capitoline Copy, and the Emperor *Aurelian*'s Letter to the Senate concerning it, he gives us two Corollaries, as follows:

Cor. 1. Since these pretended *Sibylline* Oracles, laid up in the Capitol, stand originally on no other Authority than one Woman's Assertion, or, at most, as supported by some Heathen *Augurs*; since they were so strictly concealed from all but a few of the Heathen Priests: Since their pretended Contents did so evidently tend to confirm *Pagan* Idolatry and *Polytheism*; and since they were never used but on Emergencies of the *Pagan-Roman* State, and upon the Direction of the *Pagan-Roman* Senate, there is great reason to suspect Imposition in the whole Matter: and that these Oracles, of what nature soever they were, or whencesoever they were derived, were no better than pious Frauds, made use of to govern the *Roman* People withal.

Cor. 2. The real *Sibylline* Oracles, so publick, so famous, and so much quoted by Heathens, *Jews* and Christians, were entirely different from the Capitoline pretended

pretended Oracles: This is moſt evident from every Character. The one were exceeding antient, the other, in compariſon, modern; the one belonged to all the World, and its great Events, the other only to the *Romans*; the one were for one God, the other for many; the one were againſt Idolatry, the other for it; the one were publick, the other private; the one were for true Piety and Morality, the other for Superſtition, and Tricks of State; the one contained Predictions of Events in Providence, and the Affairs of true Religion, and the other belonged to the ſmall and petty Affairs of the *Roman* State, in its political Concerns only: So that thoſe who confound theſe two ſorts of Oracles together, as the modern Criticks generally have done, proceed without any ſolid Foundation at all, nay rather in contradiction to all the original Evidence in this Matter.

Theſe are Mr. *Whiſton*'s Corollaries; after which he tells us, the original ſingle *Roman* Copy was burnt with the Capitol, about eighty Years before the Chriſtian *Æra*; and that another Collection of *Sibylline* Oracles was made from ſeveral Countries, and laid up ſecretly in the new Capitol. This he makes out from ſeveral Authors, and among others from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus*, who particularly adds, that among this new Collection ſome ſpurious Verſes, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt as being Acroſticks, did appear; and in this *Dionyſius* ſays, he does but follow the authentick Account of *Terentius Varro*, whoſe Narration it is, in his Treatiſe of Divine Matters. So far Mr. *Whiſton*.

Now, we may here note that *Terentius Varro* lived in *Cicero*'s time, which was before Chriſt; ſo that if thoſe Acroſticks were then concluded to be ſpurious, (tho, I conceive, few will believe them to be the ſame with thoſe Acroſticks we have now concerning Chriſt) it may be ſome Inducement for us to believe theſe

latter alſo to be ſo, beſides other Reaſons we may have for it.

We may farther take notice of what is intimated by *Boxhornius*, in his *Quæſtiones Romanæ*, *Quæſt* 42. concerning the Capitoline Copy; where, according to what is ſuggeſted before by Mr. *Whiſton*, he writes thus: But what if this Copy were the *Arcanum* of the *Roman* Empire? They pretended as tho they had ſome ſecret Myſteries, ſome ſecret Books concerning the Will of the Gods, when there were none extant. And this was done, that according as the Neceſſity of Affairs might require, they might perſuade the People from them, it was the pleaſure of the Gods that this or that thing ſhould be done, or omitted; the Pretext of a Divine Command extorting an Obedience, which otherwiſe could not be obtained. Theſe are the *Arcana* of States, eſpecially of the *Roman*, which *Tacitus* rather calls Arts and Umbrages of things, in which one thing really is, and another thing ſeems to be, and a thing is feign'd that is not, that a thing may be done which ought to be; for ſuch is the Nature of the People, that being baited by ſpecious Pretences, they may believe under a falſe colour, what they would not believe, if they ſhould hear the Truth.

As for the *Cumæan Sibyl*, mentioned by *Virgil* in his fourth *Eclogue*, I know many learned Men have writ Comments on that *Eclogue*; and as we are all here upon conjecture, it's no wonder if Men vary in their Sentiments, and if I differ from them all, unleſs it be that Mr. *Dodwell*, in his Book of *the Diſtinction between Soul and Spirit*, ſeems to concur in opinion with me, *p.* 25 & 26. of the ſecond Edition.

It being the Opinion of many of the Learned, that the Verſes in that fourth *Eclogue* are not properly applicable to any but to Chriſt; I think it proper for me to premit a few things relating to that Opinion, before I deliver my own Senſe concerning it.

Mutius

Mutius Pansa published a Book, *de Osculo seu Consensu Ethnicæ & Christianæ Philosophiæ*; that is, concerning the Agreement of the *Pagan* Philosophy with that of the Christians: in which Treatise he sets forth, that the Mysteries of the *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Arabians*, *Greeks*, and *Latins*, as being taken from the *Hebrews*, are consonant to our Faith concerning God. And the learned *Kircher* was so well pleased with this Book, that he stiles the Writer of it, *Haud ignobilis Author*. But I think we must have something more particular concerning the Mysteries of Religion, for a right understanding of this *Eclogue*.

Our late eminent Dr. *Wallis*, *Anno* 1682. publish'd two Sermons together, which he had preached to the University of *Oxford*, concerning *The Necessity of a Regeneration*; which Book I think highly worth our reading, and shall give you a few Particulars of it. He takes his Text, *John* 3. & 3. where *Christ* says to *Nicodemus*, *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.* On this, the Doctor says, *Nicodemus* was a great Man among the *Jews*, a *Pharisee*, a Ruler of the *Jews*, a Master in *Israel*, yet did not understand the Doctrine of Regeneration, as appears by his Questions, *ver.* 4, 9. *How can these things be? How can a Man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his Mother's Womb*, &c. And by Christ's Expostulation, *ver.*10. *Art thou a Master in* Israel, *and knowest not these things?* A little beneath the *Doctor* adds: That which is Christ's Doctrine in the Text, shall be my Doctrine at present, the Necessity of a Regeneration, or a new Birth: *Except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.* It's a Doctrine, which perhaps may seem as strange to some in this Age, as it did to *Nicodemus* then, there being those, who do not only (as perhaps at first he did) doubt of it, but scoff and reproach it, who make but a Jest of it at the best,

if not a Subject of Burlesque and Drollery, and such like unsavory Discourses, unbeseeming Christians; but we shall find it, first or last, to be a serious thing, not so needless, nor yet so very easy, as prophane Persons persuade themselves.

As the *Doctor* intimates here a Labour which attends a Person in whom the Work of Regeneration passes, I think we may here aptly apply what *Festus Avienus de Arateis* says of the Celestial Constellation *Engonasis*, or *Hercules*:

> ——— *Et cujus latuit quoque causa laboris,*
> *Panyasi sed nota tamen, cui longior ætas*
> *Eruit excussis arcana negotia rebus.*

If any Man would know who *Panyasis* was, some Writers tell us he was Uncle or Cousin-German to *Herodotus*; but those who consider the Etymological Import of Names, will know that some of that Name are still living.

Next, the *Doctor* proceeds thus: As to the Truth of this Doctrine, it will need no great Proof, being the very Words of the Text, which will rather need Explication than Confirmation. And two things are here to be explained; what is meant by seeing the Kingdom of God, and what by being born again.

Now, I must refer you to the *Doctor* for explaining these things, it being beside my Business to enlarge upon them here, and shall only add one Passage of the *Doctor*'s second Sermon, on the same *Text*; where, *p.* 36. he writes thus: I know very well, that the Name of the Spirit in this loose Age is made matter of Burlesque and Drollery, but so are all the sacred things of God, his Being and Providence, Heaven and Hell, and the Day of Judgment; yet we must not therefore be drolled out of our Religion. The Truths of God will still be the Truths of God, notwithstanding the Follies of Men; those Admonitions, *Quench not the Spirit, grieve not the Spirit, walk*

walk in the Spirit, &c. were intended for ſerious Advice; nor will the Follies of ſome, who may pretend to what they have not, excuſe the Malice of others, who make a mock of holy things. So far Dr. *Wallis*, whoſe Sermons I recommend to Mens Peruſal; which, tho he was a great Man, and publiſhed many uſeful Books, ſeem to me to be worth all the reſt.

Having given an Intimation from *Mutius Panſa*, that the Myſteries of the *Gentiles* were conſonant to our Faith concerning God, and ſome Paſſages from Dr. *Wallis*, concerning a Regeneration; I ſhall now proceed (with all Submiſſion to proper Judges) to deliver my Senſe concerning *Virgil*'s fourth *Eclogue*.

As I look on *Virgil* in his *Paſtorals* to have had an eye to Religion and Church-Diſpenſations, and its Paſtors, as well as to Civil Affairs; ſo, I conceive, in this *Eclogue*, where, at entrance, he intimates he ſhould ſing ſomewhat great, his chief Deſign was to celebrate that inward Birth, which attends a Regeneration, after a ſpiritual Death, which muſt firſt be undergone; the higheſt Reach of Church-Diſcipline being to bring Men, by a due training, to this regenerate State. And if I am inclined to think that many of the *Gentiles* became Partakers of this ſpiritual Death and new Birth, I muſt ſay, that after having ſpent no ſmall time in conſidering the Writings of the *Gentiles*, I cannot make a tolerable Senſe of many Paſſages in them, but as they are explainable with reference to thoſe interior Tranſactions. I find it ſo in *Virgil*, in his *Bucolicks*, *Georgicks*, and *Æneids*; and I find the like in other Authors of the *Gentiles*. I am perſuaded *Virgil*, in his fourth *Eclogue*, has celebrated this new Birth, in which himſelf and many others of the *Gentiles* were initiated their way, and did not unknowingly write of Chriſt by a Prophetick Inſtinct, as ſome will have it, becauſe many things there ſaid, cannot, in many reſpects, be apply'd

ply'd to Chriſt, tho many learned Men have judged they muſt; nor to the Son of *Pollio*, tho many Interpreters have applied them to him, whereas he is not mentioned in that *Eclogue*. And if what is ſaid of the Birth there celebrated, be applied to him, we muſt own, he is there repreſented as tho he were to become a greater Perſon than *Auguſtus*. If the Genethliacal *Encomium* in this *Eclogue* ſhall be applied to the new, or inward Birth, and the bleſſed Times that attend it, all things admirably anſwer to it; for when this great Work of Regeneration is over, by which Men are taught a higher Leſſon of Juſtice than the reſt of Mankind have learnt, then is their time to act in the full Latitude their Spirits bear to, according to the Poſts they are in; they being then to be truſted beyond all others, and there being no fear but they will then act according to Juſtice and a perfect Charity, their Spirits being fully poſſeſſed with them.

Aggredere O! magnos, aderit jam tempus, honores,
Chara deûm ſoboles, magni Jovis incrementum!

Dear Offspring of the Gods, Jove*'s great Increaſe!*
O! now's your time great Honours to poſſeſs.

And tho ſome Perſons after a Regeneration fall again, and that ſo dangerouſly, that St. *Paul* ſays, as for thoſe who have received the holy Gift, and fall again, there is no poſſible way to renew them to Repentance; yet I can ſcarce think any of them can be carried ſo far aſtray, but they will ſtill be led by a ſtrong Byaſs to the central Juſtice they imbibed in their Viſitation. Indeed when the Church has brought Perſons to a regenerate State, *Functa eſt Officio ſuo*, ſhe has done all that may be expected from her, nor can ſhe go farther; ſo that the Reſtoration of ſuch fallen Perſons muſt be from their own Reflections,

flections, which will not fail now and then to return upon them.

And here I muſt aver, that thoſe who have experimentally obſerved the Work of Regeneration and inward Birth to have paſs'd in them, if they are alſo learned, will be able clearly to verify within themſelves all that the Poet has ſet forth relating to the Birth he celebrates, and particularly what he ſays in the Cloſe of this *Eclogue*.

Incipe, parve Puer, riſu cognoſcere Matrem,
Matri longa decem tulerunt faſtidia menſes.

Your Mother, Child, by Smile begin to know,
Ten long Months Loathings ſhe did undergo.

For the Church being the Mother of this regenerate Child, undergoes great Loathings for a long time, while ſhe obſerves the Irregularities it commits; and this Child, as it comes to have Senſe, and conſiders the Methods taken by its careful Mother for bringing him to his regenerate State, cannot forbear, at length, from beginning to take notice of her by a Smile. And I cannot ſee how theſe two Verſes can be applied to Chriſt, as many learned Writers will have all that is ſaid in that *Eclogue*, touching the new Birth, to be ſo applied. And I deſire any Reader, who may be inclined to their Opinion, fairly to ſhow me how thoſe Verſes ſhould be applied to Chriſt; for, I ſuppoſe, no one will ſay the Bleſſed Virgin was at any time troubled with offenſive breeding Qualms, or a Nauſeouſneſs, or had ſuch Loathings in her Child-bearing, as there expreſs'd. Another thing which, I think, ſufficiently ſhows *Virgil* could not mean *Chriſt* in that *Eclogue*, is, that the Perſon there meant is often to make his Return in an orderly Succeſſion of Ages, as he had done before.

Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.

Which

Which frequent Returns cannot be said of Christ, tho well they may of the inward Birth I contend for. And those who do not consider the various Revolutions which pass in the inward Man, or, indeed, those in whom a Regeneration has pass'd, can never be let into the Knowledge of this Mystery. When I said, that a regenerate Person will be able to verify in himself what *Virgil* has set forth relating to the Birth he celebrates, it must not be understood of a Plenty and Prosperity of all things in this World; for Christ's Kingdom is not of this World, nor are the Joys of his Kingdom like to the Joys here. And if we consider the State of *Judaism* at Christ's Birth, we shall find it horrible, as the learned *Hottinger* observes, *Hist. Eccles. par.* 1. *c.* 1. It was all deformed, whether we regard the Church, the Schools, or Commonwealth: And the *Jewish Rabbins* themselves speak plainly of the sad Times that would be at the Birth of the *Messias*. The *Talmudists* so greatly exaggerate the Pains of the *Messias*, which Christ himself, *Math.* 24. *&.* 8. calls ὠδῖνας, that is, the Pains of Childbirth, that a Man may not a little wonder with what face the intoxicated *Jews* should then promise themselves *Halcyon* Days, and an Affluence of all things. The antient *Talmudists* thought far otherwise, whence in *Gem. Sanhed. c.* 11. §. 26. at the time the *Messias*, the Son of *David*, will come, there will be very few Disciples, and the Eyes of those that are, will wax dull thro Vexation and Grief; Calamities will fall upon them, and most severe Decrees will be made. And in *Sota, cap. ult.* the Son will afflict his Father with Ignominy, the Daughter will rise up against the Mother, the Daughter-in-law against the Mother-in-law, and every Man's Domestick will be his Enemy. See Christ's own Words, *Mat.* 10. 34, 35, 36. *Think not that I come to bring Peace on Earth, I came not to bring Peace, but a Sword. For I am come to set a Man at variance against his Father, and the Daughter against her*

her Mother; and the Daughter-in-law againſt her Mother-in-law; and a Man's Foes ſhall be they of his own Houſehold. He that loves Father and Mother more than me, is not worthy of me; or he that loves Son or Daughter more than me, is not worthy of me. So again, *Luke* xii. 49, 51, 52, 53. *I am come to bring Fire on the Earth; and what will I, but that it be kindled? Do you think that I am come to give Peace on Earth, I do not ſay ſo, but rather Diviſion; for from henceforth there ſhall be five in one Houſe divided, three againſt two, and two againſt three; the Father ſhall be divided againſt the Son, and the Son againſt the Father,* &c. Whence *Abarbanel*, in his Comment on *Daniel*, writes, that the Chriſtians had heard from the *Jews*, that moſt grievous Calamities were to be in the World at the Time of the *Meſſias: Firſt*, A ſhameful Forgetfulneſs of the Law then ſeiz'd on many in the Church. *Secondly*, A perverſe Explication of the Scriptures. *Thirdly*, An Obſervance of Phariſaical Traditions. *Fourthly*, A prophane Introduction of Simoniacal Practices. *Fifthly*, Pernicious Claſhings of Hereſies and Hereticks, of Schiſms, Schiſmaticks, *&c.* See *Hottinger.*

This was the State of the *Jews* when Chriſt came; yet the latter *Jews* perſuaded themſelves, that God never intended any other thing, when he choſe the People of *Iſrael*, and gave them the Law, and promiſed them the *Meſſias*, than that they ſhould enjoy a carnal Happineſs while they ſerved God according to the Law; and that if this Happineſs ſhould be loſt for a time, by reaſon of Tranſgreſſions, all Things would be fully reſtored again by the promiſed *Meſſias*. So that when it's ſaid, *Hoſea* xiv. 5, 6. *I will be as the Dew unto* Iſrael, *it ſhall grow as the Lilly, and caſt forth its Root as* Lebanon; *its Branches ſhall ſpread as the Olive-Tree, and its Smell as* Lebanon, *&c.* the *Jews*, (as *Luther* obſerves, *Tom.* 7. *Witteberg.* p. 341.) underſtood theſe Things to be ſaid of the *Meſſias*, and therefore when they hear the Likeneſſes of Corporal

Things propoſed, they expect from the *Meſſias* the Conveniences of this Life, and corporal Bleſſings, according to what is before expreſs'd; and that the *Jews* will be the Admiration of all Nations throughout the Earth, and that they alone ſhall ſway every where: But as for a Forgiveneſs of Sins, the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt, and Eternal Life, they do not dream of them. This Blindneſs hence ariſes, that, as Chriſt objects to them, *Matt.* xxii. *They know not whoſe Son the Meſſias is.* Now, as I have ſet forth the State of the *Jews* upon the Coming of the *Meſſias*, ſo it is the ſame upon a Regeneration, or New-Birth; for tho' thoſe whom God is pleaſed to favour with it, are filled with ſuch a Spiritual Joy, that they would not be without it for the whole World, it muſt not be thought that they have regard to an Affluence of worldly Conveniencies, or a carnal Eaſe in this Life, where we muſt always be in a State of War with our three Enemies, the World, the Fleſh, and the Devil; or a liberty of Sinning, which the World commonly takes for happy Times: But they have learned to value a Happineſs of Mind according to the Word of God. And tho' *Virgil* celebrates a Birth, according to that outward Affluence of all Things, which is the only Happineſs the World can reliſh, or well apprehend, yet I doubt not but he had a Taſte of the other, or of that Happineſs which attends a Purity of Mind, and had a chief regard to it in what he writ. However, he thought fit to gratify *Auguſtus* and his Favourites by celebrating a golden Age with worldly Proſperity attending their Reign, and ev'n the Reign of the *Meſſias* muſt be ſo celebrated for vulgar Apprehenſion, the ſpiritual Senſe being only for the few that are capable of it. That *Virgil*, and many of the *Gentiles*, had a Taſte, and the higheſt Eſteem for this ſpiritual Happineſs, ſufficiently appears from what they have ſet forth concerning it: So *Eurip.* in *Bacchis*, Act. 1. where the *Chorus Baccharum*, ſays,

O beatum, quiſquis Fælix gnarus Dei
Sacrorum, Vitam piat:
Ac animam initiat Orgyis,
Bacchans in montibus,
Sacris purus luſtrationibus!

So, again, the *Chorus* in *Ariſtophanes*, at the End of his firſt Act, *in Ranis*, ſays,

Nobis enim Sol fulgidus
Solis, & hilaris eſt Lux,
Sacris qui initiamur, &
Piam bene degimus
Vitam, erga & incolas,
Erga & Peregrinos.

The *Eluſine* Myſteries had regard to the Life to come, and the State after Death; and thoſe who were initiated in them, were accounted more happy and honourable, not only in this Life, but likewiſe in that to come; for they believed, that by Luſtrations Souls were cleared from the Contagion of mortal Things, and fitted for the Contemplation of Things divine. So *Sophocles* writes concerning the Myſteries:

Thrice happy thoſe, who when they've ſeen
The Myſteries, to Death reſign:
For thoſe alone have future Bliſs,
All others, endleſs Miſeries.

And here it deſerves to be noted, that from the foregoing Verſes of *Euripides*, *Ariſtophanes*, and *Sophocles*, and from all other Paſſages of the *Gentiles*, where they ſpeak of their Myſteries, it appears, that whether the Perſons initiated ſpeak of themſelves, or others ſpeak of them, they are ſtill repreſented as tranſported into an uncommon State of Mind; and

indeed such as the Regenerate find themselves in, and this notwithstanding the Ridicule many of the Fathers put on all the Mysteries of the *Gentiles*. And what *Philostratus* tells us, *L.* 4. *C.* 18. is remarkable, *viz.* that *Apollonius Tyanæus*, being at *Epidaurus*, at the time of the Initiations, and desiring to be initiated, the *Hierophanta* refused it, saying it was not lawful for him to initiate an Enchanter, and to set open the Entrance of *Elysium* to him that was not pure in divine Things (as *Olearius* translates the last Words) or, to a Man polluted with the Society of Dæmons, [as *Bullialdus* translates them in his Notes on *Theon Smyrnæus*, chap. 1.] tho' afterward, when *Apollonius* had made himself known, the *Hierophanta* initiated him, as he desired. Thus we see the *Gentiles* thought the Minds of those they initiated, to be purified, and that others were not worthy of it. The said *Bullialdus* also, in the Place mentioned, writes thus: As in Religions the ultimate End of those that received the Mysteries, was a hoped Bliss and Happiness, as it appears before from *Euripides*, *Plato*, and others, and those who were initiated in the *Eleusine* and other Mysteries, and at length were admitted to a sight of them, believ'd they had attain'd the Life of the Gods; so *Plato* asserts the ultimate End of Philosophy, to be the sight of God, as far as it's possible for Man; according to which, *Abammon*, an *Egyptian* Master, aptly discourses, in his Answer to an Epistle of *Porphyrius* to *Anebo*, as follows: The benevolent and propitious Gods therefore, being led by such a Will, send Light abundantly to religious Persons, and those who apply themselves to divine Things, and recall their Souls to them, and cause them to be united to them, and accustom them while they are yet detained in the Body, to recede from corporeal Things, and to be led to their eternal and intelligible Principle. And it clearly appears from those Works, that what we now speak of, is the Salvation of the Soul; for while

while the Soul is converſant about bleſſed Objects, it changes its Life for another, and produces other Effects; nor does it think itſelf obnoxious to a human Fate, being then of a right Mind, and often omitting its own Life, paſſes in Operation to the bleſſed Life of the Gods. So far *Abammon*; and this ſeems to me to be what Chriſtianity aſpires to.

But note here, that *Plutarch*, from whom we have the foregoing Paſſage of *Sophocles*, in his Diſcourſe, *How the Poets ought to be read*, tells us, that they ought to be read with that Prudence which *Diogenes* uſed againſt *Sophocles*, who has caſt a Million of People into Deſpair, by thoſe Verſes which he writ concerning the Religion and Fraternity of the Myſteries of *Ceres*; for *Diogenes* being told of thoſe Verſes, cry'd out, What does the Man ſay? Shall the Thief *Patæcion*, when he dies, be in a better Condition after this Life, than *Epaminondas*, only becauſe he has been of the Religion and Fraternity of the Myſteries? And here I may note, that many Chriſtian Divines tell us, that none but ſuch as are regenerate can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. If ſo, Lord have Mercy upon us; for, as of the 600000 Children of *Iſrael*, who ſet forth from *Egypt*, for the Land of Promiſe, only two of them liv'd to enter it: So, I doubt, if none but the Regenerate, and ſuch as keep to a regenerate State of Mind, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, little more than a proportionate Number will ever enter there. Indeed there is this to be ſaid for the Regenerate, that none but thoſe in this Life, can have a Foretaſte of the Joys to come, which is no ſmall Privilege for them; and none can have a right Senſe of what is writ by myſtical Divines, nor of the moſt valuable Learning in the Antients, eſpecially in the Poets, (however ſome may value themſelves upon reading the Claſſicks) without this Diſpoſition: But to foreclose God's Mercy againſt all but the Regenerate, I dare not think of ſetting Bounds

Bounds there. Note, that when I speak above of the Regenerate, I write to those who practically know what a Regeneration is, according to the Intimation of Dr. *Wallis*, there being somewhat extraordinary which passes in it, beside the common Practice of a Christian Life; and this I intimate, that People may not fancy they know what it is, when they do not.

To go on with some other Passages of the Antients concerning their Initiations. *Plato* in *Phædone* says, Whoever shall go to *Hades* unexpiated and uninitiated, will lie in the Dirt; but whoever shall come there purged and initiated, will cohabit with the Gods. *Isocrates*, in his Panegyrick concerning those Mysteries, writes, Those that partake of the Initiations, have pleasant Hopes both concerning the Issue of this Life, and all Eternity. *Cicero* says, *de Leg. l.* 2. That by the Mysteries, Men from a rude and barbarous Life are polished for Humanity, and brought to a gentle Disposition. As they are called Initiatings, so by them we really know the Principles of Life; nor do we only receive with Joy the Way of Living, but likewise a better Hope of Dying. *Arianus in Epict. l.* 3. *c.* 21. writes; Initiations become useful, if we have an Opinion that all those things were ordered by the Antients for instructing us, and amending our Lives. And indeed it was called τελετὴ, because it was believed to bring a Perfection of Life. See more what the *Gentiles* thought concerning these Mysteries, in Sir *John Marsham*'s *Canon Chronicus*, in the eleventh Age, under the Head *Hades*.

For the better understanding of *Virgil*'s fourth *Eclogue*, I shall give you some light concerning the *Golden Age* he there describes, and that new Birth which, as I conceive, he there sets forth. Mr. *Dodwell*, in his Book of the *Separation of Churches*, *c.* 14. observes, That by the *Golden Age* is meant the time of the Reign of the Spirit; as long as the Divine Seed

Seed continued among Men, or as long as they lived, κατὰ λόγον, ſo long the Gods themſelves appeared and converſed familiarly with Men, till the Degeneration of Mens Lives, to the Iraſcible firſt, and then to the Concupiſcible Faculty of the Soul, by degrees exiled them back to Heaven again; ſo that *Aſtræa* was the laſt of them that ſtaid below: yet ſhe alſo departed at length, according as the Provocations of Men grew more and more intolerable. And this was alſo made the Age of the Giants, who are ſaid to have fought with the Gods themſelves, for reſiſting thoſe Divine Influences, which are then ſuppoſed to have been ſo familiar: and theſe Giants brought the Deluge, and were alſo caſt into *Tartarus*. And the New Teſtament compares the Sin of the Apoſtates from the Goſpel, with the Sin of thoſe who periſhed in the old World, and makes the Puniſhment by Fire, which ſhould be inflicted for the Sin of theſe, exactly anſwering to the Puniſhment by the Deluge. And Chriſtianity was a reſtoring Men to that Divine Seed which thoſe before the Deluge enjoyed, till they loſt it by their Miſdemeanors; and *Juſtin Martyr* makes the living, μετὰ λόγε, to be the ſame thing with being a Chriſtian: and *Conſtantine* applies all *Virgil*'s fourth *Eclogue*, where he deſcribes the *Golden Age* according to the Principles of *Heſiod* and *Plato*, to the State of Chriſtianity. And the Spirit was look'd on to be a Divine Nature, as that was then, and ſuppoſed to make us the Sons of God, as *Plato* calls thoſe ἀπογόνις θεῦ, who lived then, the Souls of Men being then in an ἕνωσις and Coalition with the Fontal λογος. And according to *Plato*, as long as Men were good, God kept the Government of the World in his own hands; but as they degenerated, ſo he was thought to leave it to Fate, Neceſſity and Fortune, as if he then took no farther notice of it. And ſeeing Chriſt, whom the Primitive Chriſtians took for the θεάνθρωπος λογος, had the Government of all

all things committed to him by the Father, it was reasonable for them suddenly to expect those happy Times, which, according to this *Hypothesis*, were consequent to such a Government. The whole Constitution of the Government of the Church in that Age was Theocratical; all the Officers of the Church were invested in their Office by the Holy Ghost himself. So far, as to the *Golden Age*. Concerning Regeneration and the new Birth, I give you what follows:

Trismegistus is an antient Author, and is said to have been an *Egyptian* Philosopher; but the Credit of the Works ascribed to him, being lately brought in question by some Criticks, I know not whether any thing taken thence might serve for an Instance of a Person among the *Gentiles* who was knowing in the Mystery of Regeneration. The late Dr. *Everard*, who, in his Sermons, has sufficiently shown himself practically knowing in the Work of Regeneration, thought some of the Works ascribed to him worth a Translation, and has given us his *Poemander* and *Asclepius* in *English*; which I believe he would not have done, unless he had had a good opinion of some part of their Contents. I know some conjecture, the Works ascribed to *Hermes* were written by some Christian; if so, and if what he has written concerning Regeneration, show him to be knowing in that Work, he is a good Christian Testimony for the Reality of such a thing. If he were a *Gentile*, his Testimony must stand good as a *Gentile*. The seventh Book of his *Poemander* contains his secret Discourse in the Mountain of Regeneration with his Son *Tat*, concerning Regeneration and a Profession of Silence. And perhaps this may be the Mountain of which the Poet said,

——————*Jam monte Potitus*
Ridet anhelantem dura ad fastigia turbam.

The

The Sum of what he says in this Book, concerning Regeneration, is this: His Son desires to be instructed in that Mystery, to which he professes himself an absolute Stranger, and without which his Father had told him no Man could be saved, and in which he had promised to instruct him, if he would withdraw himself from the World, which he said he had done. *Hermes* therefore answers him to this effect: This intellectual Wisdom, O Son! is to be understood in Silence, its Seed is true good, it's sown by the Will of God, and the Man who is thus born is the Son of God. This New-Birth, Son, is not taught, but is brought to our Mind when God pleases. If you ask me the way of Regeneration, I can only say, that I see in myself no feigned Sight or Spectacle, made through the Mercy of God; I am gone out of myself into an immortal Body, and am now what I was not before, but am born a-new in Mind. This thing is not taught, nor is it to be seen in this Elementary Body, and therefore I neglect my first compounded Frame; not that I am separated from it, for I have a Touch and Dimensions, but I am estranged from it. You see me, O Son! with your Eyes, but as you discern me presenting a Body, I cannot be seen with Eyes as I am now; and would to God, my Son, you also may go out of yourself without Sleep, like to those who dream in their Sleep.

NOTE *here, that in the Work of Regeneration, Men are carried out of themselves, by passing into an extatick State; in which, tho they are not asleep, they are in a sort of waking Dream, like to those who dream in their Sleep; and this is that Sleep of which it is said, Cum dederit dilectis suis Somnum, ecce Hæreditas Domini!* and the *Spiritual Death passeth in this extatick State, of which it's said, Pretiosa in conspectu Domini Mors Sanctorum ejus; and in this State Men may be said to be beside themselves, according to that of St.* Paul, 2 Cor. 5. 13.

If we are beside ourselves, it's to God-ward; if we are sober, it's for your sakes, it's the Love of Christ that works this in us.

And let it be noted, that as in the Act of Generation, which Physicians tell us is like the Fit of an Epilepsy, the Powers of the Body are so agitated, that the Persons concerned pass into a Trance, or a sort of Extatick State, in which an Energetick Force passes from them, causing an Impregnation for a Propagation of the Species; so in the Work of Regeneration, the Divine Impulses are so strong, that the Persons concerned find themselves transported into a sort of Extasy, in which a new Birth is brought forth, which may be called the internal *Messias:* and upon that Birth some of the Persons concerned hear heavenly Musick, as the Angels are said to have sung in the Air at the Birth of Christ, and of which the Waits, who go about our Streets with their Musick before *Christmas*, and waiting the Birth of Christ, present us a Type. Some are then brought to a Communion with Spirits, and other Knowledges are communicated to them, with which the rest of Mankind are no way acquainted: and if any Men, having an opinion of their Parts, make their Understandings the Measure of Knowledge, and ridicule such things, let them consider that there are a thousand things in Law, in Physick, in all the Arts and Sciences, which are impenetrable to those who have not groundedly learnt those Arts and Sciences, however vast a Genius they may otherwise have, and how able soever they may be in penetrating things of the highest nature.

Trismegistus goes on: If you ask who causes this Regeneration, it's the Son of God, one Man, by the Will of God. You must farther judge from the changeable things of this World, what is true: for this is not changeable, and is understood only in Power and Action. And the Mind only can understand that Generation which is in God. And do not despair, Son, but you may do this; draw it into

into yourſelf, and it will come; have a Will to it, and it will be done; vacate the Senſes of the Body, and there will be a Generation of a Deity; purge yourſelf of the brutiſh Affects of Matter, which you may do by degrees, thro the Mercy of God; and by this way and means a Regeneration is wrought. And as for the reſt, my Son, be ſilent, and hope well, and the Mercy of God will not be wanting to us. And rejoice, my Son, for being purged through the Power of God to a Clearneſs of Senſe, the Knowledge of God comes to us; and as this comes, Sorrow will fly away to thoſe that are capable of it. Whoever thro Mercy has attained to a Generation in God, leaving Corporeal Senſe, knows himſelf to be divinely conſtituted, and rejoices, being made ſtedfaſt by God. *Hermes* at laſt concludes: My Son, having learned theſe things from me, keep to the Vertue of Silence, revealing to no Man the Tradition of Regeneration, leſt we be thought Calumniators.

This is the Subſtance of what I have drawn from the obſcure wording of *Hermes*, concerning Regeneration; in which I differ in ſome places from Dr. *Everard*'s *Tranſlation*, he perhaps having tranſlated from another Copy than that I have, which is a *Venice* Edition of *Hermes*'s Works, ſet forth by *Fr. Patricius*, *Anno* 1593. who tranſlated them into *Latin* from a Copy he had from the Library of *Ranzonius*. As I have conſidered what is here ſaid concerning Regeneration, I ſhall be inclined to believe with Mr. *Dodwell*, in his Book of *The Separation of Churches*, *c.* 15. that he that writ it was a Chriſtian, till it ſhall ſome way appear to me that the *Poemander*, as we have it, was extant before Chriſt's time: for he ſeems to me to have Hints more than ordinary concerning the Myſtery of Regeneration. Mr. *Dodwell*, in his forecited Book, *p.* 335. writes thus: Παλιγγενεσία is a Term expreſly uſed by the Author, who goes under the Name of *Triſmegiſtus*, who, if he were really a

Christian, as I believe really he was, yet he seems at least to have personated the Person whose Name he was pleased to assume, and consequently in him to have personated the *Egyptian* Philosophy. So *Plato*, when he would give an account of the Principles of *Socrates*, or *Timæus*, brings them in, discoursing in their own Words. And tho *Pythagoras* himself is said to have written nothing, yet the *Golden Verses*, and other things quoted by the Antients, bear his Name, and very probably the same Account may serve for the *Orphaicks*, that they were also designed by the several Authors to express the Sense of *Orpheus*, and the Principles of Religion introduced by him. And I believe several of those antient Works, which at present bear false Titles, were first inscribed with those Titles by the Authors for this very reason, without any design of imposing on the World. As therefore on these accounts it will appear probable that the Author intended to deliver the Principles of the *Egyptian Philosophy*, which pretended to *Hermes* as its first Author; so it's very probable also, that he meant that Scheme of it which prevailed in his own time at *Alexandria*, which was the *Elective*, made up of several Sects that agreed in opposition to the *Scepticks* and *Atheists*; which School much influenced the World in that Age. And it's therefore very likely to be alluded to in the New Testament, which supposed its Readers imbued with those Principles. And according to this Philosophy the Return of the Soul from Heaven, whence it came, is called a new Birth: So *Porphyry* tells us, that the Descent of the Soul into this World, is represented by the Bees and Honey in *Homer's* Description of the *Antrum Nympharum*, as Emblems of the first Generation; and yet withal, that the *Nectar*, the Drink of the Gods, was made of Honey, to show that the same Resemblance very well fitted the Return, or second Birth of the Soul also: and it's probable, it was hence given by the Primitive Christians

ſtians to new baptiz'd Perſons. Milk and Honey alſo were both of them uſed to Infants in their firſt Birth, and ſo were very fit, according to the Myſtical Philoſophy, which was of great uſe then, for bringing many over to Chriſtianity, and ſo muſt needs have been ſuppoſed true by them who on this account received it, where it was not corrected by expreſs Revelation. And by this Paſſage of *Porphyry* it appears, that the ſame Philoſophers took it for a fit Symbol of the ſecond Birth alſo: Nor did the *Ægyptians* only expreſs this Notion of the Return of Souls to Heaven by the Name of a ſecond Birth: *Tertullian* uſes alſo the word Regeneration concerning them, and the Worſhippers of *Mithras*, a Religion that then very much prevailed among the Myſtical Philoſophers, and other celebrated Myſteries. The ſame thing is ſaid more particularly concerning the *Ægyptian* Myſteries by *Apuleius*, *Met. lib.* 11. who ſpeaking of *Iſis*, ſays, For the Apartments of Hell, and the ſecuring of Salvation, are in her hands; and when any one conſecrates himſelf to her, it's done as it were with a voluntary Reſignation to Death, ſince it is a paſſing from a profane Life to a religious; ſo that a Man ſeems then to be born a-new, as being ſet on a new foot for Salvation thro the Favour of the Goddeſs. And *Apuleius* calls *Mithras*, the Prieſt who had initiated him, Father; *Complexus Mithram Sacerdotem & meum jam parentem.* So St. *Paul* calls himſelf the Father of thoſe he had converted. And as the Scripture ſpeaks of the Life after Converſion, as a new Life, ſo it does therein only allude to the Style of the Philoſophers who make the σωτηρίαν ἀφ' ὕλης, the eſcaping from the Corruption of the World, to be a Recovery of a new Life; and they make the λόγος to be a winging of the Mind, by which they are made capable to aſcend upwards, to a recovering of a Divine Life. And accordingly, the very Name of σωτὴρ is aſcribed to him by *Simplicius* in that excellent

lent Prayer of his, with which he concludes his Commentary on *Epictetus*: and that it is by the Spirit this Government is adminiſtred, appears from *Apuleius*, in his Tranſlation of the *Aſclepius* of *Triſmegiſtus*.

Now if we put the Principles of this Hypotheſis together, they will fully amount to the Account the Scripture gives of Chriſt as the λόγος, ſo much of it at leaſt as we are at preſent concern'd for: Firſt, the new Life will conſiſt in a Conjunction with the λόγος, to whom they alſo aſcribe it, as the Scripture does. Secondly, this λόγος exerts his enlivening Power in us by the Spirit, as the Scripture tells us Chriſt does; ſo that they who have not this Spirit, cannot partake of this Life. Thirdly, the firſt Infuſion of the Spirit is that which enables us to aſcend, and to exerciſe any Act of the new Life, and therefore is moſt properly call'd the new Birth; and therefore they who have not yet received the Spirit, as the Principle of Regeneration, cannot be ſuppoſed to have received it at all, and by theſe Principles cannot be ſuppoſed capable of aſcending into Heaven, becauſe this is the Wing by which they are enabled to aſcend thither. Fourthly, this Infuſion of the Spirit, as a Principle of Regeneration, was expected in thoſe Baptiſms which were then received in the commonly received Myſteries of that Age; and accordingly, the partaking of thoſe Myſteries was particularly recommended by *Pythagoras* for this Purpoſe of Philoſophy. And, Fifthly, That we may not admire that Baptiſm, which was only a Ceremony of admitting Diſciples, ſhould alſo be made a Myſtery, and, as ſuch a one, made uſe of for communicating thoſe Spiritual Influences which were uſually expected in Myſteries; this was alſo frequent among the Philoſophers of thoſe Times, eſpecially the *Pythagoreans*, from whom the *Eſſeens* ſeem to have borrowed many things, as the Chriſtians did from the *Eſſeens*,

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to ſuit the Way of inſtructing their Scholars, as to the Cuſtoms of their uſual Myſteries. So far Mr. *Dodwell*, who delivers here much more of this Subject, and in his *16 cap.* he ſets forth the Likeneſs between the Deſign of the Heathen Myſteries, and of the Bleſſed Sacrament, ſhewing that they were commorative, and that generally of the Sufferings of their Gods; that they were performed by external Symbols, particularly Bread was a ſacred Symbol of Unity obſerved in the Rites of *Mithras* among the *Pythagoreans*; and in the antient Way of Marriage by Conſarreation, and in Truces, among the *Jews*: That the Myſteries were deſigned particularly for the Good of the Soul, and that in the State of Separation: That in the Myſteries they were obliged to a Confeſſion of Sins, and to undertake new Rules of living well; in which Particulars, Mr. *Dodwell* has ſhewn much Learning, which well deſerves to be conſidered by Learned Men. See much more concerning the foregoing Myſteries in *Reineſius*'s *Syntagma Inſcript. Antiq. Claſſ.* 1. *Inſcript.* 40 and 48, where he refers to many Authors concerning them.

To proceed now, and to make things ſomewhat more clear, and to remove Difficulties which may perplex ſome Men in this Matter of the new Birth, I offer the following Particulars for a farther Information.

1ſt, Notwithſtanding the Exorbitancies of Humane Nature, there is a tender Virginal Part in the Soul of Man; and this is that Virgin, which being impregnated by the holy Spirit, is the immediate Bringer forth, under a Church Guidance, of the internal *Meſſiah*: of which ſome Chriſtian Divines write, that *Chriſt* is a Shadow, a Symbol, a Figure, and that *Chriſt*'s bodily Preſence muſt depart, or we ſhall never have his ſpiritual Preſence. For, ſaith he, *John* 8, *& 56. Except I go away, the Spirit or Comforter cannot come.* Indeed, till Chriſt comes to be formed within

within us, an Historical Faith of him signifies little, it's no more than the Devil has as well as we; it's the Christ in our Hearts, born within us, and crucified within us, which must save us. And St. *Paul* says, 2 *Cor.* 5. & 16. that after this Christ is born within us, *henceforth know we no Man after the Flesh, yea tho we had known Christ after the Flesh, yet henceforth we know him no more.*

2*dly*, I shall farther shew, that the *Jews* and *Gentiles* were acquainted in this Work of Regeneration and the inward Birth, as Christians are, and that the *Gentiles* had the knowledge of this Mystery from a very remote Antiquity, tho it may not be easy to find out how, and at what particular time, they first came to receive this Knowledge. First it appears, that the *Jews* were knowing in this Mystery, because when Christ said to *Nicodemus*, *Unless a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God*; and *Nicodemus* seem'd surprized at this Saying, and knew not what he meant, Christ replied to him, *Art thou a Master in* Israel, *and knowest not these things?* This plainly shews, that every Master in *Israel* ought to be well knowing in the Work of Regeneration, as they had been of antient Times. So 1 *Cor.* 10. it's said, that all our Fathers did eat of the same spiritual Food, and did drink the same spiritual Drink, for they drank of the Spiritual Rock, and that Rock was Christ; that is, they had the same Spirit, and Faith in Christ as we, and were all Christians as we. This Passage, I think, confirms the other, and we may have reason to believe that this Knowledge of the Mysteries of Christ, and a Regeneration continued in Vigour among the *Jews*, as long as all the Hope the antient Fathers of the *Jewish* Nation conceived concerning the Coming of the *Messias*, consisted in the sole Spiritual freeing of their Souls from the tyrannical Dominion of Sin and the Devil: And that Religion was strongly upheld among them from *Adam*

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to the Destruction of *Solomon's* Temple, and all were saved that died piously in that Faith. But in the time of *Zorobabel's* Temple, as they saw the Term prefixed to it by the Patriarch *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. and the seventy Weeks of *Daniel* drawing to an end, and were in daily Expectation of the *Messias*, they began to entertain a monstrous Opinion, unknown to their Fathers, concerning him, *viz.* That he would not be their Redeemer from the Power of Sin and the Devil, but from the *Gentiles*; and hither they wrested whatever the Patriarchs and Prophets had prophesied concerning the Spiritual and Celestial Benefits of the *Messiah*: and this was the sole Cause why the *Jews* rejected Christ, that they expected an earthly King and Kingdom, and a Corporal Redemption, and did not see Christ furnished with carnal Force for accomplishing so great a Work. And as by the Coming of the *Messiah* they promised themselves only carnal Good, and Temporal Happiness; so they thought nothing passes betwixt the *Messiah* and Man concerning the eternal Salvation of the Soul, which Man, thro his Dignity, as being a *Jew*, and thro the Merit of his Works alone procures; to which they ascribe every Good and every Reward, whether temporal or eternal; and thus the Hope of *Israel* is fallen to the Flesh, their Faith and Religion is adulterate, while it is become carnal, which was formerly spiritual. If the *Messias* ought to do nothing in the World but what they now say, and promise themselves by their perverse Faith, God would not have published him, and foreshewn him by Types, and promised him after so solemn a manner; nor would the Patriarchs, Prophets, Kings, and holy Fathers, have so earnestly desired him for 4000 Years. And *Manasseh Ben Israel*, in his second Book of the Resurrection of the Dead, says, it would not be so great a wonder if the *Messias* came to subdue many Kingdoms and Empires, since we often see it happen, that many poor and abject

Persons have come to be Kings and Emperors, and to be Lords of many Countries; and since it is predicted, that upon the coming of the *Messias*, the Scepter will be taken away, the Dominion of the *Messias* is not to be placed in an outward Scepter or Kingdom. So much concerning the *Jews*, as to the Doctrine antiently in vigour among them concerning Regeneration, tho' almost forgotten at the Coming of Christ.

Secondly, That some of the *Gentiles* were also knowing in the Mystery of Christ, it appears from St. *Austin*, who, *L.* 18. *C.* 47. *de Civ. Dei*, writes thus: It's not incongruous to believe, that there have been Men in other Nations beside the *Jews*, to whom the Mystery of Christ has been revealed, and who have had Impulses to prophesy of him; nor do I think the *Jews* dare to contend, that no one has belonged to God beside the *Israelites*, since *Israel* began to propagate, his elder Brother being rejected. Indeed there has been no other People which has been properly called the People of God, but they cannot deny that there were certain Men also of other Countries, belonging not by an earthly, but a celestial Society, to the true *Israelites*, Citizens of the Country above. If they deny it, they are easily convinced in that holy and admirable Man *Job*, who was a Foreigner to the *Jews*, and who is so praised by the divine Oracle, that, as for Justice and Piety, no Man of his Time was equal to him; and I doubt not but this was ordained by God, that from this one might we know there might be other Nations also, who lived according to God, and pleased him, belonging to the spiritual *Jerusalem*; which, it is to be believed, has been granted to none but those to whom God has revealed that one Mediator betwixt God and Man, the Man *Christ Jesus*, who has been foretold to come in the Flesh by the antient Saints, as he is declared to have come to us, that one and the same Faith may by him lead

lead all the Predeſtinated into the City of God, the Temple of God, the Houſe of God, to God.

On this Paſſage of St. *Auſtin*, *Vives* writes thus: For thoſe of the *Gentiles* who followed Nature, that Guide not defaced and corrupted with evil Judgments and Opinions, might be as grateful to God, as thoſe that kept *Moſes*'s Law; for what theſe attain by the Law, thoſe might have attain'd without the Law; and who were ſuch without the Law, arrived at the ſame Place as the *Jews*, ſince they ſteer'd their Courſe to the ſame; nor was there any other difference betwixt them, than there is when one Traveller carries a written Direction of his Journey, and another truſts to his Memory or Judgment: And the ſame would happen to a Man now, who having heard nothing of Chriſt in the remote Parts of the World, ſhould keep thoſe two great Commandments concerning the Love of God and our Neighbour, in which Truth itſelf has affirmed the whole Law and Prophets to be contained. To this Man, his Conſcience is a Law; in ſuch Men what is wanting but Water? ſince they have merited and received the Holy Spirit, as the Apoſtles. *Peter* teſtifying that ſome are filled with a divine *Afflatus*, and this Light, whom the myſtical Water has not yet touch'd, and this Light of ſo Living, is the Gift of God, and proceeds from the Son, of whom it is written, that *He enlightens every Man coming into this World.* And according to this, *Paulus Schalichius*, in his Book *De Juſtitia & Jure*, and *De Gradatione*, writes, *Hæc nomina Filii Dei, verbum, mens opifex, Cauſa, cum apud veteres Philoſophos habeantur, Platonem, Ariſtotelem & Anaxagoram, Chaldæos, Sibyllas, Mercurium, Orphea, omnem Platonicam Gentem, apparet totam de Filio, quæ nunc colitur Theologiam cognitam, adoratam, prædicatam, antequam ipſe Homo fieret.*

To give ſome Inſtances of what the *Gentiles* knew of this Spiritual Death and New Birth, beſide what may appear in *Virgil*'s 4th *Eclogue*, where I take that

Birth to be celebrated, I am of opinion that *Virgil*'s ſecond Eclogue was written as preparatory for thoſe who were to be initiated in the New Birth: For, if I know any thing, that Eclogue was written, as by a skilful Paſtor to one under his Care, according to the *Ars Amatoria* and *Obſtetricia* of *Socrates:* For, as to what Interpreters commonly ſay, that *Virgil*, under the Name of *Corydon*, there ſets forth his paſſionate Amour for a beautiful Youth given him by *Pollio*, I cannot acquieſce in it, but look on *Virgil* as a Man of a more ſerious Spirit, than to trifle with Poſterity in recording an Amour in that kind: Nor did he, in my opinion, make his court in that Eclogue to *Cornelius Gallus*, for his Friendſhip, as ſome learned Men have judged, even this End, as it ſeems to me, not anſwering *Virgil*'s great *Genius* and Depth of Senſe. For whereas it's ſaid by the Learned, that *Virgil* imitated *Theocritus* in his *Bucolicks*, *Heſiod* in his *Georgicks*, and *Homer* in his *Æneids*, and in them equalled *Homer*, ſurpaſſed *Heſiod*, but came much ſhort of *Theocritus*; I muſt ſay that I cannot find any thing in *Theocritus* (I know not whether it may be for want of good Spectacles) which out-does *Virgil*'s ſecond and fourth *Eclogues*, in the Senſe I underſtand them, and which I know may be applicable that way, however others may interpret them; tho' I well know the learned *Huetius* looks on *Virgil*'s eighth *Eclogue*, as far exceeding any of the reſt.

There were antiently among the *Gentiles*, as there are ſtill among Chriſtians, ſome contemplative Perſons, who lived in the Woods, and uſed ſome uncommon ways of training for their Pupils; they played on the Seven-Reed Pipe of *Pan*, and ſang their Lays to thoſe they made love to. The Leſſons they gave, carried a double Meaning, ſo that many times it was long before they were obſerved; but when they were, their Charms were ſuch, that they ſeldom fail'd of Succeſs. I know a Perſon, who, as ſoon as he heard

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a *Corydon* ſinging to him in the Woods, preſently wrote the following Anſwer, under the Name of *Alexis*, as follows:

ALEXIS

Corydoni ſuo ſummè colendo,

S. P. D.

SIT, quondam Paſtor Corydon ardebat Alexin,
Delicias Domini, nec quid ſperaret habebat,
Tantum inter denſas umbroſa Cacumina fagos
Aſſiduè veniebat, ibi ſua carmina ſolus
Montibus & Sylvis ſtudio jactabat inani.
O Corydon! ſi non flans in contraria Ventus
Obſtiterat, dulciſq; tuæ modulamina vocis
Audiſſet, voto ille tuo certe obvius eſſet.
Non formoſus erat, tali ſed fretus Amore
Candidus eſt, ſperat quoque ſe fore candidiorem.
Quis te deſpircet? tu quis ſis quærit Alexis.
Quàm dives nivei pecoris, quàm lactis abundans
Nil dubitat, nunquam deerit tibi copia mellis.
Mille tibi Siculis errant in montibus agnæ,
Lac tibi non æſtate novum non frigore deſit,
Cantas quæ ſolitus ſi quando armenta vocabat
Amphion Dircæus in Actæo Aracyntho.
Quòd ſis formoſus, faciant te littora certum
Dum placidum ventis ſtabit Mare, nec tibi Daphnin
Judice ſe præfert, te nunquam fallet imago.
O tantum liceat mihi tecum ſordida rura
Atque humiles habitare caſas, & figere cervos,
Hædorumq; gregem viridi compellere hibyſco,
Tecum unà in ſylvis imitari Pana canendo.
Pan primus calamos cerâ conjungere plures
Inſtituit, Pan curat oves ovinumque magiſtros.
Nec me pæniteat calamo triviſſe Labellum,
Hæc eadem ut ſciret, quid non facturus Alexis?

Eſt

Est tibi disparibus septem compacta cicutis
Fistula, Damœtas dono tibi quam dedit olim,
Et dixit moriens, te nunc habet ista secundum.
Maxima dona equidem, paucis concessa beatis.
Et talem, ut fatear, nuper mihi notus amicus
Obtulit, heu, nimium durâ sub conditione.
Præterea duo, nec tuta tibi valle reperti
Capreoli, sparsis etiam nunc pellibus albo,
Bina die siccant ovis ubera, quos mihi servas.
Jampridem à te illos abducere Thestilis orat,
Nec faciet, mihi chara nimis sunt munera vestra;
En tibi jamque adsum, sunt & quia Pignora amoris,
Tum tua nympharum quoque gratè dona recepto;
Nec si muneribus certet victurus Iölas,
Anne ego te fugiam? cum Sylvas Diique habitarunt,
Dardaniusque Paris, placeant ante omnia Sylvæ,
Torva leæna lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam,
Florentem cythisum sequitur lasciva capella,
Jamque egomet Corydona, trahit sua quemque voluptas:
Aspice aratra jugo referunt suspensa juvenci,
Et Sol crescentes decedens duplicat umbras,
Me tamen urit amor, quis enim modus adsit amori?
Ah Corydon, Corydon, noli desistere cœpto,
Semiputata tibi frondosâ vitis in ulmo est;
Non aliàs transferto tuum, crudelis, amorem;
Omnia, quæ sua sunt, tibi concessurus Alexis,
Dulcia cantabis modò carmina sæpe petenti.

Alexis was not satisfied by writing the foregoing Answer in Verse, but wrote also the following Epistle in Prose.

ALEXIS

Chironi, Dædalóve suo summè colendo,

S. P. D.

Vir Clarissime,

EX *omnibus Donis à Deo mortalibus concessis, Sapientia certè, quam in te singularem agnosco, primas tenet, & admi-*

admiranda tua peritia in decanatissima Philosophorum Panaceâ conficiendâ valde me in tui admirationem rapuit, cujus vires fere super-humanas, vel multis è doctioribus incredibiles visas, te patrocinante, expertus sum. Gratias, quales potui, pro tantâ tuâ in me Beneficentiâ, jam olim tibi rependi in Epistolâ quadam à me scriptâ, utinam à te receptâ, easque jam pridem iteràssem, si modus certus innotuisset, quo scripta mea ad manus tuas pervenirent. Legi equidem, apud Mystas, viros divino tuo fungentes munere, cum in Sylvis lateant, haud facilè cuipiam se cognoscendos dare ; proindeque parum spei est, nota mea apud te tantum Valetura, ut inter amicos familiares me recipere digneris, immo de tanta felicitate tantum non despondeo : hæc tamen adfari liceat, cum virum sapientissimum te cognosco, nilque nisi rationabile obsequium te à quocunque expostulaturum, sub quacunque lege & conditione, in amicorum numerum, si optare liceat, me recipies, ad omnia me paratissimum te inventurum spondeo. Verba desunt quibus ad amicitiam benevolentiamque te ulterius provocem. Vale feliciſſimè, Vir optime, Patrone generosissime !

Alexis having writ these two Epistles, never sent them, for want of a due Direction, as he complains in his foregoing Epistle, and intimates that he had sent *Corydon* another Epistle before, but doubted whether it came to his hands, tho he sent it to an Acquaintance of *Corydon* ; who owns the receipt of it, but is not free to own that *Corydon* ever received it, or to tell his true Name, or Place of Residence. The Epistle which this Person received, and was desired to convey it to *Corydon*, was as follows.

Vir Clarissime,

PLura olim legi de admirandâ potentiâ Artis & Naturæ, legi, at non intellexi, nec talia referentibus fidem adhibui ; jam verò tua dicam pietas, an generositas, certò benevolentia multò majora mihi hisce in rebus demonstravit, quam vel animo dubitanti quondam eis inesse suspicatus sum.

sum. Quid autem res est? alter Deucalion à Prometheo admonitus de diluvio in montem Parnassi me recipi; prævalentibus undis, ac tandem subsidentibus eodem etiam monstrante viam, Dodonam adij, Sylvamque vocalem peragravi: ubi, & dictu mirabile, animalium cum volatilium tum terrestrium Linguas, cæteris mortalibus ignotas, dictu citiùs edidici; immo &, Diis testibus, æva tinnientia ab Angelis pulsata, curetum Cymbala crepitantia, nascente Jove, admirandasque Spherarum harmonias, ter & amplius audivi: Noe cum aquæ terras cooperuerint, primo ex arcâ corvum emisit, avem infaustum, qui nec domino suo bonæ spei indicia reportavit, emisit tandem & columbam meliora experturus. Quid dicam? exundat animus, plura tamen de hisce Mysteriis erranti chartæ committenda non sunt. Et hæc fortassè malè sana videantur, ab animo licet multò saniori profecta, quam olim fuit. Deus, pro votis meis, te servit incolumem liceat mihi corporis salutem ei ex animo precari, à quo animi recepi medelam. Heu quales gratiæ pro quali munere? Vicit officium Linguæ beneficii magnitudo. Vale felicissime.

Verum ubi nulla fugam reperit fallacia victus,
In sese redit, atque hominis tandem Ore locutus.

Now, I do not admire that *Corydon* was not free to be known to *Alexis*, notwithstanding the great Goodwill he might have born him, since *M. d'Herbilot*, in his *Bibliotheque Orientale*, tells us from the *Arabians*, under the Word *Asrar*, which signifies Secrets and Mysteries, that their mystical Writers say, they reveal their Secrets only to those who are capable of understanding them, and that even those to whom these Mysteries are unfolded, cannot declare them to others, since they ought to be concealed; and it ought to satisfy them, that they can entertain themselves in a mute Language, with him who has made them Partakers of so great a Favour; and it's known that the most learned and wisest Men, include various Senses

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in what they write, and, as tho' they were doing another thing, hint to the Learned and Studious, wonderful Secrets, or *Arcana* of Natural and Divine Things.

If we look on *Virgil's Georgicks*, we ſhall find many Paſſages there, which ſhow him to be acquainted in the Spiritual Death and New Birth. Near the beginning of his firſt *Georgick*, after he has ſaid to *Auguſtus*, that the World was in great Expectation of him, whether he wou'd make himſelf famous by Sea, or by Land, or become a Conſtellation in the Heavens, he writes thus:

Quicquid eris (nam te nec ſperent Tartara Regem,
Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido;
Quamvis Elyſios miretur Græcia Campos,
Nec repetita ſequi curet Proſerpina matrem)
Da facilem curſum, &c.

Whate'er you'll be (for Hell ne'er hopes you King,
Nor ſo ſeek Rule to wiſh ſo direful thing;
Tho' Greece *admires th'* Elyſian *Fields, nor was*
Proſerpine *fond with* Ceres *thence to paſs)*
Vouchſafe your Favour——

Now theſe Verſes manifeſtly ſhow, that ſome *Sibyl* had led *Virgil* through the ſubterraneous Regions, as the *Sibyl* had carried *Æneas*, and other Heroes, thither; (for as our learned *Sanford* obſerves, in his Work, *De Deſcenſu Chriſti ad Inferos*, Lib. 2. *prope finem. No great Man occurs in the Poets, but he ſome time deſcended into Hell*) and that he had a free Intercourſe to the *Elyſian* Fields, otherwiſe he could not have told *Auguſtus* that the *Greeks* admired thoſe Fields, nor know why thoſe Fields were admired by them, nor why *Proſerpine* was ſo well pleaſed with *Pluto's* Habitation, that ſhe car'd not to return upon the Earth, when her Mother *Ceres* came to fetch her;

nor why the Poet says, it's a direful thing to become King of Hell; nor (let me say it) are these Things knowable, without having past the Spiritual Death I have mentioned. And *Virgil*, in his sixth *Æneid*, admirably sets forth this Transaction, and the Labour that attends it; where we find that *Æneas* having a Desire to converse with his Father *Anchises*, in the *Elysian* Fields, applies himself to the Sybil, who presided over the Groves where the Entrance into the subterraneous Regions is, (being deputed to it by *Hecate*, who bears Sway in Heaven, Earth, and Hell) and desires her to be his Guide to lead him to him. Hereupon the Sybil well knowing the Labour there is in this Transaction, dissuades him from the Undertaking, saying to him,

———Facilis descensus Averni;
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis:
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad Auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est. Pauci quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad Æthera Virtus,
Diis geniti, potuere; tenent media omnia Sylvæ,
Cocytusque sinu labens circumfluit atro.
Quod si tantus Amor menti, si tanta Cupido est,
Bis Stygios innare Lacus, bis nigra videre
Tartara, & insano juvat indulgere Labori;
Accipe quæ peragenda prius.

———It's easy going to Hell;
Black Dis*'s Gates we know are open still:*
But to return, and rise to the bright Sun,
Here lies the toilsome Work; few this have done,
Whom Jove *has lov'd; or ardent Vertues raise*
Us to the Skies, or God-born Men; the Ways
That lie betwixt, with Woods are all beset,
And dread Cocytus *close surrounds the Pit.*
But if your Mind be such, so great your Zeal,
To visit twice the Stygian *Lakes and Hell;*

And

And this mad Labour needs you'll undergo,
Then learn of me what first you have to do.

And beneath, when *Æneas* comes to enter the Cave, the Poet writes,

——*Procul, O! procul este profani,*
Conclamat vates, totoque absistite luco.
Tûque invade viam, vaginâque eripe ferrum,
Nunc animis opus, Æneа, nunc pectore firmo.

The Sibyl cries, Far now, O far be gone
From this whole Grove, you Men that are profane,
And you with Sword in Hand, come on your Way;
Æneas, *now your Courage you must try.*

And when the Ghosts presented themselves before *Æneas*, the Poet says,

Corripit hic subitâ trepidus formidine ferrum
Æneas, *strictamque aciem venientibus offert,*
Et ni docta comes tenues sine corpore vitas
Admoneat, volitare cavâ sub imagine formæ,
Irruat, & frustra ferro diverberet umbras.

Æneas *here with sudden Fright being scar'd,*
Presents his Sword, and stands upon his Guard,
And if the Sibyl had not told him, they
Were airy Souls which such like Shapes display,
H'ad vainly strove with's Sword the Ghosts to slay.

Now to explain this Transaction as clearly as may be, it is to be considered, that the *Hades* of the antient *Gentiles* signified both the Place of the *Elysian Fields*, and the Place of Punishment of the Wicked; or, properly, the invisible World, or the invisible State of the Mind of Man after a corporal or spiritual Death: and as it is a Priestly Function to bring

Men acquainted with the invisible World, or State, and to aid them in passing to it; so, by the Sybil, we must understand some Priest, or Clergyman, whose Office it is to perform this. And as the Sybil expostulates with *Æneas* concerning his Desire of twice going to Hell, or the *Hades*, this plainly intimates, that beside our natural Death, after which we come to this Knowledge, there is a spiritual Death, which some Men undergo in order to a Regeneration, being aided in it by a Sibyl: the Labour of which to the Undergoer is best known by Experience; and Dr. *Wallis*, as is intimated before, tells us, it is not so easy a thing as some may imagine. However, those who undergo it have this Maxim to comfort them, *Deus flagellat omnem Filium quem recipit.*

As for the *Ramus Aureus*, which must be carried as a Present to *Proserpina*, by those who will gain an Admittance into those subterraneous Regions, and have a free Intercourse there, I have explained it in the second Part of my *Considerations on Dr.* Burnet's *Theory of the Earth*, *chap.* 7. where I treat of *Paradise.*

By what I have set forth before from *Virgil*, I do not pretend to compare the Pagan Lustrations with those of Christians, they having not a like Foundation to proceed upon. However, it may not be ungrateful to consider how far human Reason guided them for purifying their Minds, and how far they proceeded in it.

Lomeierus, in his Book *de Lustrationibus Gentilium*, c. 15. where he treats concerning the Practice used by the *Gentiles* for purging their Minds, writes thus:

The *Gentiles* understanding, from the Dictates of Reason, that God is a most pure amd holy Spirit, easily concluded they could not hold a Communion with him, unless they conformed themselves to his Image; and therefore all the greatest Men of Sense among

among them judged a purging of the Mind to be the chief Religion. So *Pliny*, in his *Panegyrick on Trajan*, ſays, I obſerve the Gods are not ſo much pleaſed with the diligent Prayers of their Adorers, as with Innocency and Sanctity; and that he is more graciouſly received by them, who brings to their Temples a pure and chaſte Mind, than another a meditated Prayer. And ſo *Perſius*, *Sat.* 2.

Quin damus id Superis, de magnâ quod dare lance
Non poſſit magni Meſſalæ lippa propago.
Compoſitum Jus fáſque Animo ſanctoſque receſſus
Mentis, & incoctum generoſo Pectus honeſto,
Hæc cædo ut admoveam Templis & Farre litabo.

We give the Gods, what Great Men, from their Store,
Cannot preſent them, far from giving more:
A Mind ſincere to God and Man we bear,
An honeſt Heart, not ſway'd by Hopes or Fear,
Of this let me be ſtill an Offerer.

This Myſtery lay hid under their luſtral Ceremonies, which were inſtituted by their Anceſtors for an Amendment of Manners, and rectifying the Exorbitances of Life; and they had recourſe to Heaven as the Source of this Sanctity and interiour Purgation. So *Cicero*, *l.* 2. *de Nat. Deor.* Both our City and *Greece* have brought forth many ſingular Men, no one of whom is to be thought to have become ſo but by God's particular Aſſiſtance: Wherefore the Poets, and eſpecially *Homer*, joins certain Gods with the chief Heroes, *Ulyſſes*, *Diomedes*, *Agamemnon*, *Achilles*, as Companions in their Dangers and Straits; and afterwards concludes, *No one, therefore, has ever been a Great Man without ſome Divine Afflatus.* Concerning the Poets that Paſſage is well known;

Eſt

Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo,
Impetus hic Sacræ Semina Mentis habet.

God reigns in us, by's Actings we take fire,
Such Sallies, Seeds of Sacred Mind inspire.

And *Aristotle* owned in Man a nobler Principle of his prosperous Fortune than Reason, saying, It is not Nature, nor Reason, but a good Genius guiding him, *Eth. Eudem. l.* 7. *c.* 17. And again, *ib. c.* 18. the Question being proposed, What is the Principle of Motion in the Soul? This Answer follows, It's manifest therefore that it is as God is in the Universe, and all things are again in him; for the same Deity that is in us, after some manner, moves all things; and the Principle of Reason is not Reason, but somewhat more excellent; and what is more excellent than Science but God? Which Place of *Aristotle*, *Scaliger* considering, *L. de Subtil. Exercit.* 307. *Sect.* 25. he starts this Question, What dost thou say, Divine Man! Is there somewhat better in us than Reason itself? Were the Rays of the Holy Ghost known to thee? The Genius of *Socrates* is well known. Indeed they made Philosophy the Instrument of interior Purgation, to which the wisest of the *Gentiles* ascribed a purging Force, for introducing Vertues, and bringing the Mind to a Likeness with the Deity. Hence *Cicero*, *Tusc.* 5. speaking of Philosophy, says, One day well past, according to thy Precepts, is to be preferred before a sinning Immortality. Whose Aid then shall we use before thine, who hast given us a Tranquillity of Life, and taken away the Terror of Death?

Plato, in his *Phædrus*, says, The Soul having fallen to inferiour Things, has broken its Wings, and is raised again by Contemplation; so that a Philosophical Meditation recovers those Wings. This is that contem-

contemplative Life which the *Hebrews* and *Academicks* called a precious Death; and, *Plato* says, is to be desired by Wisemen, *Macrob. l.* 1. *in Som. Scip. c.* 13. the force of which is such, that it sharpens the Understanding, and separates Man from Man; which when he has attained, he sees not only the Secrets of natural Things, but likewise is carried with swift Wings, and a purged Mind, into Heaven, and is filled with the Knowledge of Divine Things. Afterwards being instructed by the immortal Gods, he reveals abstruse and admirable Things to ignorant Men. *Plato*, in his *Phædo*, says, this is called a Death, a Freeing and Separation of the Soul from the Body: And afterwards, Those chiefly and only desire to free it and separate it, who rightly philosophize; and therefore a Philosopher does not fear Death, because he is not a Lover of the Body. Such are celebrated by *Ovid, Fast.* 1.

Falices Animæ, quibus hæc cognoscere primum,
Inque Domus Superas scandere Cura fuit;
Credibile est, illas pariter Vitiisque Jocisque,
Altiùs humanis exeruisse Caput.
Non Venus & Vinum sublimia Pectora fregit,
Officiumve fori, militiæve Labor;
Nec levis Ambitio, perfusáque Gloria fuco,
Magnarúmve Fames sollicitavit Opum:
Admovêre Oculis distantia Sidera nostris,
Ætheraque Ingenio supposuêre suo.
Sic petitur Cœlum———

Thrice happy those, who make their chief Delight
To know these Things, and take this lofty Flight;
We may believe such rais'd above the Sphere
Of trifling Jokes and Vices reigning here.
No Lust, nor Wine, no Toils of War, or Gown,
These soaring Minds have shaken and cast down;

Nor

Nor vain Ambition, nor false Glory's View,
Nor worldly Cares these ever could subdue:
The distant Stars they've brought down to our Eyes,
As by their Wit they mounted to the Skies.
Thus Heaven is gain'd——

I may insert here also what *Cælius Rhodiginus* has writ concerning these Matters, *l.* 7. *c.* 13. Those who have writ that the *Socratick* Institutions are a sort of Image, or, at least, a Shadow of the Christian Integrity, and that the *Old Testament* is confirmed by the *Platonick Theology*, and the *new* by the Wisdom and Manners of *Socrates*; these truly, let it be said without Envy, either solely, or with very few, seem to have conceived the Depth of the Things which God was pleased by some secret way to instill into the Minds of those Men: for in *Plato*'s Book concerning the Soul, after *Socrates* has taught us that the Meditation of a true Philosopher consists in this, that the Soul purge and separate itself from the Body; and that true Vertue consists in a purifying, which is attained by Wisdom, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperanc e he presently subjoins, Wherefore those who have established Mysteries, are by no means to be neglected, for they seem earnestly to admonish us by some secret way, that whoever go to *Hades*, not so purged and initiated, wallow in the Dirt as the Generality of Men do, but that the others live with the Gods; and therefore it's commonly said, *Multi Thyrsigeri, sed Bacchi Perpauci*, and only these very few are rightly instructed in Philosophical Mysteries. And as *Bacchus* is taken for a genuine Philosopher, and a Man qualified *ad Unguem*; so the *Platonicks* think him sometimes taken for some Chief Priest, whom Mythologers affirm to have been twice born; signifying, that a Priest, presently upon his being initiated, must be reborn, or that the Mind of a perfect Priest

Prieſt being wholly inebriated with the Deity, ſeems then to be born anew. So far *Rhodiginus*.

But for a more perfect purging of the Soul, and a more ſublime Contemplation, the Philoſophers proceeded to that Species of Magick, called *Theurgia*; concerning which ſee St. *Auſtin de Civ. Dei*, l. 10. c. 9. Beſides this, applying themſelves to Contemplation, they minded that Part of Philoſophy which directs the Will and Affections; for a Diſcompoſure of theſe is a great Lett to the purging of the Mind, as *Boethius* ſings, *Lib.* 1. *de Conſol. Philoſ.*

Tu quoque ſi vis
Lumine claro,
Cernere verum,
Tramite recto,
Carpere callem,
Gaudia pelle,
Pelle Timorem,
Spemque fugato,
Nec Dolor adſit,
Nubila Mens eſt
Vinctáque Frœnis,
Hæc ubi regnant.

If you'd ſee Truth, and take the ſtraiteſt way,
Diſcharge your Mind from Hope, Fear, Grief, and Joy;
That Soul is clouded, and in Fetters bound,
Where theſe do reign———

And to cure this Evil the Philoſophers, and chiefly *Socrates*, brought the Philoſophy of Life and Manners among Men, and made them enquire into what was Good and Evil; which he did after a pleaſant manner: for to take away Vice, he commanded ſomewhat which was very like to Vice; as to take away Love, he brought in Love: for in many Dialogues of *Plato* he ſhews himſelf to be a true Lover; which ſome Men not well perceiving, have charged that Holy Man of an execrable Crime. So in *Zenophon*'s Feaſt he calls himſelf the Pander of Men; after the ſame manner, if he ſaw one addicted to Pleaſure, he commended true Pleaſure; if to Riches, he commended true Riches: By which ſweet

way of acting, he did not properly so much draw Men, as lead them; nor root out Vices, as wash them away. The *Stoicks* way of acting was contrary; for to take away great Vices from Men, they would not admit the least, nay they would have all to be equal; which *Cicero* also, in his *Paradoxes*, argued for, according to the Sense of the *Stoicks*. And to turn Men from Vice, they allowed no Passions, which others, by a wholesome Method, converted to a Habit of Vertue.

Thus, in this Life, these Purgations proceeded, till the Soul being freed from the Fetters of the Body, was carried back to its Divine Principle whence it had its Origin, as *Boethius* says, *de Consol. Phil. l.* 3.

——————Quas Lege benignâ
Ad te conversas, reduci facis Igne reverti.

Which, turn'd to you, still by your gracious Law,
And circling Fire, into yourself you draw.

This, I conceive, is enough to shew, that many of the *Gentiles* were acquainted in the Spiritual Death and New Birth; to which I shall only add, that the Story of *Aristeus* and *Proteus*, in the fourth *Georgick* of *Virgil*, and many other Passages in his Works, are not to be understood but by Persons experimentally knowing in the spiritual Death; and I shall note, that the *Gentiles* were commonly brought to the Knowledge of that Death by some secret Practices, which are not accounted lawful: so that they came in by the Window, and not by the Door, which a due training leads to.

Cicero, in his *Tusculan Questions*, *l.* 5. after having considered those that take a View of the World, and observe the Motions of the Celestial Bodies, the Order of Things, their Rise and Origin, Life and Death, the Vicissitude and Changes of Things from one

one into another, *&c.* has this Expreſſion, *Hæc tractanti animo & noctes & dies cogitanti, exiſtit illa à Deo Delphis præcepta cognitio, ut ipſa ſe mens vitiis exutam cognoſcat, conjunctamque cum mente divina ſe ſentiat, ex quo inſatiabili gaudio compleatur.* Which Expreſſion I cannot conceive any Man could ſo feelingly make, as he ſeems to do, unleſs he had paſs'd the Spiritual Death I have mentioned: So when I read the 34th *Ode* of *Horace*——

Parcus Deorum cultor & infrequens, &c.

I cannot but conclude he had a Spiritual Viſitation, whereby he was brought off from his licentious Opinion to former Thoughts, or a New Birth, as it may be called. He expreſſes his Viſitation, which occaſioned his Return, by an unuſual Thunder happening in a clear Sky: But thoſe who know what Practices the antient Paſtors uſed on ſuch Occaſions, may have another Interpretation of that Thunder; not but ſuch a Thunder might happen: For M. *Voiſin*, in his dedicatory Preface to his Book, entituled *Theologia Judæorum*, which Dedication is to the Prince of *Conde*, tells him, among other Things, that as he was carrying to be baptized, a great Clap of Thunder happened when the Sky was ſerene; as another alſo did at the Time when he was baptized. That *Theologia Judæorum* may be worth reading, becauſe the Author there ſhews from the Books of the *Hebrews*, that the ſame thing which is now called the Chriſtian Religion, was in being with the Antients before Chriſt came in the Fleſh.

So *Lucan*, *L.* 1. *v.* 300. *& ſeq.* ſpeaks of Thunder in a clear Sky:

Fulgura fallaci micuerunt crebra ſereno.

And beneath,

———*Tacitum sine nubibus ullis*
Fulmen, et Arctois rapiens de partibus ignem
Percussit Latiale caput.

Those who find a Difficulty to admit that a Regeneration has past among the *Gentiles*, may read what a great Master of a contemplative Life has writ, which perhaps may make the Admittance of it not to seem so difficult. He writes thus: God is extremely various in his Operations, differing in the Ways by which he leads Souls to the Perfection of his Love. We see daily, by Experience, before our Eyes, that some Persons shall labour all their Lives, with all Sincerity, both in mortifying their Nature, and in macerating themselves with pious Austerities, and trying to fill themselves with all Virtues, employing in it all possible Industry, who nevertheless shall never be worthy of having the experimental Knowledge of the true Spirit of God, nor of his secret Ways, or interiour Operations, which he shows the Souls he hath chosen; or if they arrive at it, it's very late, and after long and great pains-taking. Others, on the contrary, shall have no sooner set their Foot in the way of Perfection, but soon, after a true Sorrow for their Sins past, behold! God will communicate to them so great an Affluence of Gifts, Graces, and Spiritual Lights, that presently he discovers to them the Operations of the most noble Faculties of their Souls, to show them whither he will one day draw them: and what is more, it often happens, that where Sin has most abounded, there also God will show himself most abundantly in the Communication of his Favours: A thing indeed wholly wonderful, are these inscrutable Secrets of the Divine Wisdom. See *Barbanson, in Præf. in L. 2. De Amoris Divini Occultis Semitis.* This, perhaps, may lessen the Strangeness of what Favours God may have shown to some of the *Gentiles*.

I ſhall add one thing here, which was practiſed by the antient *Gentiles*, for purifying the Mind, and is known to few: They joined, with their Morality, the occult Doctrine of the Celeſtial Motions; a Doctrine ſo antient, that *Chiron* taught it *Achilles*, and it came originally from the *Ægyptians*, whoſe antient Prieſts, as *Pierius* tells us, were ſo thoroughly ſeen in all the Obſcurity of Nature, that that Diſcipline ſeems to have been handed down to them by Inheritance: And Commentators tell us, that the Learning delivered in *Virgil*'s ſixth *Æncid*, was taken *ex altiſſimâ Ægyptiorum Diſciplinâ*. And it is obſervable, that *Virgil* has given us eleven Hexaſticks, each containing the twelve Signs of the Zodiack, which it's probable he would not have amuſed himſelf in compoſing, unleſs he had known ſomewhat highly valuable in Aſtrology. *Dietericus*, in his *Specimen Antiq. Bibl.* p. 585. writes, That the *Ægyptians* are ſaid to have been the firſt of Mortals, who by their Study, and the Greatneſs of their Genius, attained the Knowledge of the Courſe of the Heavens, and of all the Celeſtial Motions; to have been the firſt who preſcribed a Form of Living, and the Diſcipline of Manners; that their Aſtrology has brought forth a ſuperſtitious Phyſiology and Theology; that it has introduced the pernicious Magical Arts, and Demoniacal Expiations; concerning which Magical Theology of the Eaſtern People, we expect a peculiar Tract from *Gilbert Gaulmin*. So far *Dieterici*. So *Prudentius*, in his ſecond Book againſt *Symmachus*, ſpeaking of the Devil, ſays, *v.* 894.

In Magicas Artes trahit involuitque Matheſin.

So again, *v.* 479.

Nec præſcripto aliquo pellet pia vota Matheſis.

To

To this secret Science of the *Egyptians* for purifying the Mind, a certain Transaction celebrated by the Poets may be said to relate. They tell us, that when *Jupiter* was born, the *Curetes* preserved him from *Saturn*, who was wont to devour his Children, they making a noise with their Timbrels and Dancing; so that *Saturn* could not hear the Infant's Cries, and he was safely conveyed away. Some say the *Curetes*, *Cabiri*, *Telchines*, *Corybantes*, and *Dactyli Idei*, were the same; some thought them near allied, tho somewhat differing, and that they were moved with a Fury; that they resided not only in *Candia* and *Phrygia*, but likewise in *Samothracia*, formerly called *Dardania*, and in *Lemnos*. *Archemacus* of *Euboea* says the *Curetes* inhabited *Chalcis*, whence they were called *Chalcidians*, from their Arms of Brass. Some say they were Gods; others say they were Servants of the Gods; and others say they were Dæmons.

Now, if you desire to know what these *Curetes* really were, I will tell you; as I am assured by a Person who says he has often seen them, and conversed with them: They were those *Genii*, or familiar Spirits, which now and then attend some Persons, either coming of their own accord, or being caused to appear to them by some Art, as *Porphyrius* tells us in *Eusebius*, they may, as *Psellus* does also, *lib. de Dæmon.* And as for the good Office they are said to have perform'd in saving *Jupiter*, by the Sound of their Tymbrels, *&c.* you must know that this *Jupiter* is construed by some to be that new Birth which is brought forth in us, and which was also brought forth among the *Gentiles*, as appears by their Expressions concerning those who were initiated in their Mysteries; and those *Curetes* or *Genii* attend with their various harmonious Sounds, chiefly at the time of that new Birth, tho' those Sounds and Apparitions are then perceived only by the Persons concerned, to whom they seem, or are real, tho' not to any Stander-by:

by: And if in celebrating the Myſteries of *Rhæa*, or the Mother of the Gods, Perſons under the Name of *Curetes*, *Coribantes*, &c. made noiſes with their Tymbrels, Cymbals, *&c.* this was only outwardly to perſonate and typify what the *Genii* inwardly performed. So *Bullialdus*, in his Notes on *Theon-Smyrnæus*, c. 1. which Author he tranſlated from the *Greek* into *Latin*, obſerves that *Euſtathius* on this Verſe of *Homer's Iliad* 16.

Ἐκ πόντοιο θύραξε λίνω καὶ ἤνοπι Χαλκῷ,

Says, ἤνοπι, that is, ἤνοπα, ſignifies vocal; for of all inanimate things, Braſs alone ſeems to have a Voice: and the *Pythagoreans* ſay, *That Braſs rings*, omni Spiritui diviniori; *and therefore the Tripod made of that Metal, was conſecrated to* Apollo. *And all Winds ceaſing, the Air being calm, and all other things being ſilent and ſtill, hollow Baſons ſeem to be ſtruck, and made to ring.* And to my certain Knowledge, theſe ringings are heard by ſome Perſons ſtill, as I have ſet forth at large in my Book of *Genii*, or *Familiar Spirits*, c. 5. Where I have given an account of what Perception Men have had of Spirits by the Senſe of Hearing; which Book was extant long before I met with this Paſſage of *Euſtathius*, and which I was glad to ſee, as it ſatisfies me that many of the Ancients were wont to hear ſuch Ringings; and doubtleſs theſe harmonious Ringings were what the *Pythagoreans* are ſaid to have called *The Harmony of the Spheres*. At the famous Temple of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, the ringing of the *Dodonæan* Braſs was ſo celebrated, as *Philoſtratus* tells us, that the Braſs Statue of the Nymph *Echo* was there ſet up, holding her Finger on her Mouth, to ſhew that ſhe was ſilent, being overcome by the reſonant *Dodonæan Baſons*, much more ſonorous than herſelf. The Epitomator of *Strabo*, for *Strabo* himſelf, through the Injury of Time, was defective in this place, ſays thus:

thus: The Proverb *Dodonæan Braſs* had hence its Riſe; there was a Baſon in the Temple, over which the *Statua* of a little Man hung, holding in his Hand a Braſs Whip which conſiſted of a triple Chain, having Knobs hanging to it, which continually ſtriking the Braſs Veſſel, as it was blown up by the Wind, made great Sounds. *Suidas* ſays, that *Dæmon* tells us the Oracle of *Jupiter Dodonæus* was compaſſed all round with Baſons; one of which being ſtruck, all reſounded one after the other, ſo that the Circuit of that Sound laſted a long time. The ſame *Suidas* ſays at the ſame place, a *Statua* ſtood there placed on high, holding a Rod in his Hand; and near the *Statua* was a Baſon, whence a certain harmonious, pleaſant, and ſweet Sound proceeded. *Ariſtotle*, according to *Suidas*, deſcribes this Oracle otherwiſe; he ſays there were two Columns, on one there was a Baſon, and on the other ſtood a Body with a Whip in his Hand, whoſe Cords were made of Braſs; when they were moved by the Wind, they ſtruck againſt the Baſon, and ſo gave a Sound. I have given theſe Inſtances, as looking on thoſe *Statua's* ſtriking on the Baſons, to be only Types of what the *Genii* perform to thoſe who lie under a certain Operation for initiating them in the Myſteries of the Ancients. *Archemachus* the *Euboean* ſays the *Curetes* inhabited *Chalcis*, and were called *Chalcideans* from their Braſs Arms: and Braſs is thought very proper in Religion and Sacred Rites. So *Theocritus*, *Idyll.* 2. according to Mr. *Creech*'s apt Tranſlation,

Hark, Theſtilis! *our Dogs begin to howl,*
The Goddeſs comes, go beat the braſen Bowl.

Where the Scholiaſt notes, a Noiſe was made by beating on Braſs when the Moon was in an Eclipſe, and at the Deaths of People; for Braſs was thought to be pure and good for cleanſing Pollutions: wherefore

fore *Apollodorus* says, *l. de Diis*, it was used in all Consecrations and Expiations.

So *Hercules* is said to have made the *Aves Stymphalides*, by some called *Ploidas*, to fly from *Arcadia* to the Island *Aretia*, by the ringing of a Brass Instrument, when he could not otherwise conquer them. So *Apollonius*, *l.* 2. *Argonaut.*

Sed neque ut Arcadiam petiit vis Herculis, arcu
Ploidas inde lacu volucres Stymphalidas ullâ
Pellere vi potuit, namque hoc ego lumine vidi.
Ast idem ut manibus Crotalum pulsavit in altâ,
Existens speculâ prospectans, protinus illæ
Cum clamore procul linquentes littus, ierunt.

When Hercules *t'* Arcadia *went to clear*
The Lake of the Stymphalian *Birds were there*;
With Bow he could not do it; *I saw the thing*:
But he no sooner made his Cymbal ring,
Being got aloft in a watch Tower, when they
Being scar'd, strait with loud Clamours flew away.

And that *Crotalum*, with which he frightned away those Birds, is said to have been made by *Vulcan*, and to have been given him by *Pallas*, the *Crotalum* being a musical Instrument of Brass used by the *Egyptian* Priests, and struck on with an Iron Rod; and I doubt not but it was introduced by them with other musical Instruments among their Magical Practices, by Analogy to what passes in the Minds of some Men as they lie under certain Visitations: the *Egyptian* Priests being skill'd in the ways for disposing the Minds of Men to perceive such Ringings, as well as for discerning or seeing Apparitions. And *Seneca*, in his *Agamemnon*, says, that *Hercules* also, with the Sound of his *Crotalum*, drove away the Dragon which guarded the golden Fruits in the Gardens of the *Hesperides*.

Audivit Sonitum crepitante Lamnâ
Frigidus custos, nescius Somni;
Linqueret cum jam nemus omne fulvo
Plenus Alcides vacuum Metallo.

Note here, That whereas I have above translated the word *Crotalum*, a Cymbal, as many do, *Adolphus Lampe*, in his ingenious *Tract*, *de Cymbalis veterum*, *l.* 3. *c.* 12. declares it his Opinion, that the *Crotalum* was a double Iron Plate, tho' I rather think it of Brass, and that the one striking against the other caused the ringing Noise. In *Seneca* the word *Lamna* is used for *Lamina*. *Frigidus Custos* was the Dragon, so *Virgil* says, *frigidus Anguis*.

That Men may not wonder at the Exposition I have given of the *Curetes*, *&c.* I may acquaint you that *Strabo*, who has writ much concerning them, *l.* 10. tells us, That, as many things are written Historically concerning the *Curetes*, &c. so many are written Theologically, and after the way of the Poets; and so as they may be brought under a Philosophical Scrutiny, and as other Men may give what Interpretation they please of them, so I have attended to the Theological Sense, and write from a Transaction which a certain Person known to me has seen to pass before his Eyes: and let me say it once for all, that all Mysteries of Religion, which do not tend to the purifying of the Mind, and a settling it in the Telestical State of the new Birth, seem to me to go beside the great End to which Providence and Men of the soundest Sense have always directed them. If any Man should go about to restrain all that is writ concerning the *Curetes*, &c. to the plain literal Sense, he would find nothing but Confusion. When any thing occurs in my reading which shocks my Understanding, after I have turn'd my Thoughts every way, I try to verify that spiritually, which I cannot do according to the Letter,

Letter, and often find an Eaſe to my Mind that way. *Philo*, and *Origen*, and the other Allegorical Fathers proceed this way in expounding the Scriptures; and I think we muſt follow the ſame, to find a tolerable Senſe in many more things deliver'd by the Ancients, than ſome Men ſeem willing to allow. The aforeſaid *Strabo* ſays, Some affirm the *Corybantes* to be certain *Dæmons*, the Children of *Minerva*, and the Sun, others the Children of *Saturn*, others the Children of *Jupiter*, and *Alliope*, and that they are the ſame with the *Cabiri* and *Curetes*, and that their Actions are myſtical; that all Diſcourſe concerning the Gods enquires into the ancient Opinions and Fables, occultly inſinuating the natural Thoughts of the Ancients concerning things themſelves, and always expounding the Fable in diſcourſing: but clearly to ſolve all the *Ænigma's*, he thinks not eaſy, tho' it's eaſy to draw together a Heap of agreeing and diſagreeing Fables. *Lillius Giraldus* in his *Syntag. Hiſt. Deor.* intimates, that it's a wonderful thing is delivered concerning the *Cabiri*, if it may deſerve belief; *viz.* that thoſe who were initiated in their Myſteries were believed to eſcape all Tempeſts at Sea; which is very true, if it be taken in a right Senſe: for it imports no more, than that he that is initiated in thoſe Myſteries is become ſuperiour to his Paſſions, ſo that nothing can move him.

———*Strepitumque Acherontis avari*
Subjecit pedibus.

As for thoſe that would ſee more concerning the *Curetes*, &c. I refer them to *Strabo*, *Lillius Giraldus*, *Calcagninus*, in his Dialogue entitled, *Equitatio*; *Meurſius*, in his *Creta*; *Guthelbertus*, *de Myſteriis Deorum Cabirorum*, *&c.* I ſhall add one thing here concerning the *Curetes*. *Delrius*, in his Comment on *Seneca's Thyeſtes*, writes thus: *Arnobius* tells us, from *Nigidius*, that ſome have thought the *Lares* of the *Latins* to be the

same with those the *Greeks* call *Idæi Dactyli* and *Curetes*; and, I think, if a Man joins what I have written concerning the *Genii* on *Seneca's Medea*, and concerning the *Manes* on his *Oedipus*, with what I have writ here concerning the *Lares*, he will find no unaccurate Account of those obscure Names; and I refer Men to the Author. But I have look'd on *Arnobius*, and find that he was nauseated at the Confusion he found among the *Gentiles* concerning those Names, and writes thus near the end of his third Book, after having spoken of the *Curetes*, *Lares*, &c. you see nothing is here said coherent, nor any thing on which a Man, by a fair Conjecture, may rely; for the Opinions so waver, and one so confutes the other, that either nothing is true at all in them, or if some one of them may be so, we know not which it is, through such a Diversity of things; unless haply you will say, that tho' we do not personally know who the *Lares*, who the *Penates*, &c. are, yet we may believe that there are such Beings, since the Consent of Authors maintains it, and that they are rank'd among the Celestial Beings according to their order. So far my Abstract from *Arnobius*.

Now, as to my own Judgment in these Matters, I can only say, that when I read any thing among the *Gentiles* concerning the *Genii*, *Lares*, *Lemures*, *Larvæ*, *Manes*, *Curetes*, &c. I direct my Thoughts to my own Experience concerning them, having frequently seen and conversed with them, and think myself less deceived than those who try to verify what is said of them some other way. A great part of what the *Gentiles* have writ concerning them, relates to the Magical Practices which were so common among them, nor is it to be understood without some insight in that kind. *Agrippa*, in his *Epistle* to *Trithemius*, *L.* 1. *Ep.* 25. says, it's a great question, Why Magick, which, in the Judgment of all the ancient Philosophers, was look'd upon as the most sublime Reach of Human

Human Knowledge, and was always had in the higheſt Veneration among the antient Prieſts and Sages, became afterward ſuſpected, and always hated, by the holy Fathers, from the beginning of Chriſtianity; and, at length, was exploded by Divines, condemned by the Canons, and proſcribed by the Conſent of all Laws: and he intimates ſeveral Ways of the Corruption of that Science, on which account it was ſuppreſs'd. But, in my Opinion, he does not aſſign the main Cauſe for it: For as Actions are ſpecified from their End, ſo the great Cauſe of its Suppreſſion, was, that many apply'd it, or might have apply'd it, to a wrong End, that Science not being Diabolical in its Nature, as ſome may imagine: But, as *Pſellus* ſays, *L. de Dæmon.* c. *ult.* it's a certain Faculty judged by the *Greeks* to be of an eminent Virtue, and the higheſt Portion of the Prieſthood. And *Ariſtotle*, *Met. L.* 14. *C. 6.* places the *Magi* among the Wiſemen.

As in what I have here writ, I have often inſerted Things relating to the Theology of the *Gentiles*, which is much ridicul'd by the Chriſtian Fathers; perhaps it may not be an ungrateful Office, if I lay before the World, what, according to my Reading, ſeems the Truth of the Matter. *Galeottus Martius*, in his Book entitled, *Doctrina Promiſcua*, c. 17. writes thus: All the Elements have the Names of Gods, and were accounted Gods among the Antients; for Antiquity called the Fire, *Vulcan*; the Air, *Juno*; the Water, *Neptune*, or *Oceanus*; the Earth *Tellus*, or *Pluto*: but Men of Senſe might ſay, whence did this Madneſs ſeize thoſe wiſe Men, that they ſhould believe the Elements Gods, ſo that they offer'd Sacrifices to certain Effects of them?

Nigram Hyemi pecudem, Zephyris fælicibus albam.

For Oblations occur every where. Now it is to be obſerved, that according to the Opinion of *Plato*, the

the Ideas of Things; that is, the Forms, and as I may say, Seals (for the Idea is the original Species of Things) are perpetual. And to be more clear, let us give an Example; among a Hundred thousand Horses, or Bullocks, or of other Species, if we will find the Beginning and Origin, by going back from this last Horse to his Sire, and from this Sire to another Sire, and so on, we must necessarily come to one Horse immortal and perpetual, begotten of none, which made the others; and so concerning Bullocks, *&c.* therefore that increated and immortal Horse, being as the Seal of the others, is nothing, to speak as a Christian, but the Equine Form and Idea in the Divine Mind; for *Aquinas* manifestly declares that the Ideas of all things are in the Divine Mind, and that they are the Divine Essence, by which God sees and knows all things. Antiquity therefore called the Idea of the Earth, in the Divine Mind, *Pluto*, *Tellus*, *Ceres*, *Cybele*, under differing Respects: The Idea, that is, the Form of the Water, *Neptune*, *Oceanus*, *Nereus*; of the Air, *Juno* and *Pallas*; of the Fire, *Vulcan* and *Vesta*; all which Things they often called also by other Names, by reason of divers Effects; for the Goddess *Pomona* is the Virtue and Idea given Trees, procreating the Fruits on the Branches; therefore in *Pliny* she speaks thus: *I generate the Juice of Wine, and the Liquor of Oil; I, Branches and Fruits*, &c. They accounted therefore the Eternal and Immortal Forms in the Divine Mind for Gods, and worshipped them, and that rightly; because nothing is in God, but God. Now they understood these Ideas and Forms of all Things in the Divine Simplicity, after various Ways: Some interpret the Words of *Plato*, as if he would say, that those Ideas are Angels, who, by the Divine Command, had the care of creating Things, God's Majesty being at Rest. The Mathematicians differ in this Matter; some say the Heavens are animated, creating all Things by the Images sealed in them; for there

there are 48 known, the unknown being in a manner innumerable; and that from these Images, as from the Ideas of Things, all Things in the World have drawn their Origins, to their Likeness; so that the Form of a Lion, forms a Lion; of a Horse, a Horse; and so in the rest. Yet some, not only Mathematicians, but Interpreters of the Scripture, as *Albert* and *Thomas* say, that the Heavens are the Instrument of God, wherewith he works: And this Opinion does not differ from that before, unless it be that the former makes the Soul of the World to be God, and the latter holds that God was the Creator of all Things, and that he formed them animate or inanimate; but as to the Formation of the Ideas, they seem to think the same: For if God uses the Heavens as an Instrument, in producing things, as they say, it's truly nothing else, but to command that the Forms existing in the Heavens, do what God wills, and that this was ordered from Eternity, as God said it, and Things were made, he commanded, and Things were created. Antiquity therefore, as Christianity thinks, worshipped the Ideas of the Divine Mind; for calling the Idea of the Fire, *Vulcan*; of the Air, *Juno*; of the Water, *Neptune*; of the Earth, *Pluto*; it owned them as Eternal and Immortal Gods; and when they offered Sacrifices, as black Cattle to the Winter, they intended them as pleasing to the Divine Will. So that what Things are thought very foolish by the Ignorant, being taken with a Grain of Salt, came by the highest Wisdom into Honour and Worship; among which Things, nothing is judged more beside Reason than to have imagined *Priapus* a God, and to have worshipp'd him; concerning whom I shall give you a few things: *Priapus* and *Lampsacus*, were Towns in *Hellespont*, and at *Priapus*, *Rusticus quidam tanta membri virilis magnitudine fuit, ut è Civitate pulsus sit, ne mulieres devastaret.* Whence they called *Priapus* from the Place, and dedicated a Temple to him, as to a Deity:

Deity: And tho' *Virgil* calls him the last and a new Deity, yet in the Scripture, an antient mention is made of him. So *Reg.* L. 3. c. 15. v. 13. it is written; *And* Asa *removed his Mother* Maacha *from being Queen, lest she should be the chief Leader in the Ceremonies of* Priapus, *and in the Grove she had consecrated to him; and he demolished his Cave, and brake the most filthy Image, and burnt it by the Brook* Kedron. But wise and acute Men will say, whence comes it that so great a Madness seized the Antients, *Ut membro virili, tam turpi, tamque abhorrendo, ut sine infamia nominari non possit, Aras dedicaverint, Templa ædificaverint, Sacrificia obtulerint, ita ut non modo Gentilitatem, Dæmonum solertia delusam, sed Judæam quoque, ubi veri Dei cultus frequens erat, hæc monstra invaserint.* These learned and acute Men are answered before, for they worshipp'd the Ideas of Things, and dedicated Temples and Statues with their Ensigns to them, not without a Cause; for when they assign a Viper to *Æsculapius*, who does not see, if he minds what we have said concerning *Venice Treacle*, that the Vertue of the Viper is very great in Medicines? In this respect therefore, they ascribe it to *Æsculapius*, as the God of Physick. They dedicated a Temple to *Priapus*, because Antiquity worshipp'd the Idea of Fecundity, and because among all cultivated Things, Gardens are the most fruitful, therefore they called this Idea of Fecundity, the God of Gardens; and as they intended to make an Image and *Statua* for this God, they set up a Virile Member, as the most fertile Part of Man; for among all Things that carry a Resemblance of Fecundity, the Virile Member is the chief, for it represents the Fecundity of those Things, than which Nature has produced nothing more excellent, nothing more divine, for it shews Man as the Fruit of its Fecundity: They worshipp'd therefore this Image of the Virile Member, because it presents the Idea of Fecundity; and among those things Fecundity presents, this is the

the moſt excellent, for the precious Frame of Man ſurpaſſes the other Fruits we have of Fecundity; they rightly therefore made the *Virile Member* the Image of that Idea. I have thought good to ſay this, that ignorant Men may not think it ſo fooliſh a thing to have adorn'd Temples with a Virile Member, and to have given it a divine Worſhip, for Human Reaſon conjectured theſe Things; and it might fail, and Errors might eaſily ariſe: But in the Chriſtian Faith, nothing but Truth ſhines, for it's divinely inſpired, and has expunged the Errors of the Antients; and in divine Things, Human Conjectures do not ſuffice, but an Inſpiration from Heaven is neceſſary to enlighten the Minds of Men, and ſo inſtruct them, that they may not be miſled by fallacious Errors, and may be recalled from Human Conjectures, and directed to Heaven: So far *Galcottus Martius.* If thoſe who read the Fathers, where they reflect on the Religion of the antient *Gentiles*, would take what is before written with them, they would not probably think the *Gentiles* ſo ridiculous as the Fathers, on all Occaſions, ſeem to make them.

The uncommon Explication I gave of *Virgil*'s 4th *Eclogue*, has drawn after it the long Sequel of Thoughts I have here given you, which tho' ſomewhat remote from the Subject of the Oracles of the *Sibyls*, firſt propoſed by me, may ſtill be ſaid to relate to a ſort of Oraculous Diſpoſition of Mind, which attends that New Birth I ſo often mention. If the Uncommonneſs of the Subject may make it ſeem odd to ſome Perſons, and draw a Cenſure from them, perhaps it may draw alſo the Poet's Reply;

O major tandem parcas inſane minori!

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

ORACLES

Deliver'd at Delphos, *and the other Temples of the* GENTILES; *and of the Ceſſation of them, both among the* JEWS *and* GENTILES.

THERE is this Difference betwixt the Oracles delivered at the Temples of the *Gentiles*, and the Oracles of the *Sibyls*; that the former chiefly regarding Human Affairs, belonging to the Happineſs of this Life, predicted the good and evil Succeſſes of future Things. And we ſeldom find in Hiſtory that

the Dæmons were consulted concerning a better Life, or eternal Bliss after Death: But the Prophecies of the Sibyls did not stop in Human Affairs, but are believed to have opened a Way, by divine Inspiration, of true Happiness to the *Gentiles*, involved in the Darkness of monstrous Errors and Superstitions. But as there is a Doubt concerning the Authority of the Sibylline Prophecies, so there is concerning the Truth of the other Oracles: and as I have declared it my Opinion, that the Writers of the Sibylline Oracles, were the Mannagers of the other Oracles, they having chiefly presided in religious Matters, and preceded all the Poets; so I look on all the other Oracles, and all the Divinatory Arts, to be vain and useless Amusements of Mankind; not but now and then, there may be true Predictions: but there is that Contingency in them, that take one time with another, they are so far from being worth while, that they do more Hurt than Good; beside those impious and execrable Practices which those Oracles have often dictated to Men. I know the Antients were divided in Opinion concerning this Matter. *Lucan Pharsal.* 5. writes thus: (tho' perhaps more from the Opinion of the Vulgar, than his own Sense)

——————— *Non ullo sæcula dono*
Nostra cârent majore Deûm, quam Delphica Sedes
Quòd siluit, postquam Reges timuêre futura,
Et Superos vetuêre loqui.———

Our Age has lost no Gift of God so great,
As by the Silence of the Delphick *Seat:*
And this, 'cause Princes fearing what will come,
Forbid the Gods to tell their fatal Doom.

But others are of a contrary Opinion; see *Theodoret*'s Book of Oracles, where he sets forth the great Evils were caused by them, and gives the first Instance

Instance in the *Athenians*, who, being press'd by a Famine, consulted the Oracle; and the *Pythia* answered it would not cease till the *Athenians* sent seven young Men, and as many Virgins, to *Minos*, to be devoured by the *Minotaur*. *Eusebius* in his *Præp. Evang.* says much on the same Subject. See also Dr. *Clasen*, in his Book concerning the Oracles and Sibyls, *c.* 18. where he sets forth at large, many absurd and impious Answers of the Oracles; and this Author may be look'd upon *instar omnium*, he having written more comprehensively on the Oracles and Sibyls, than any other Author. And any one that considers the pernicious Consequences that followed on the ambiguous Answers of the Oracles to *Cræsus*, and many others, may easily be satisfied of the Folly of Men in applying to them; and indeed, it seems to me a wonder that they lasted so long in the World. *Plutarch*, in his Tract, why the Propheteſs *Pythia* ceas'd to deliver Oracles in Verse, tells us, that they had lasted 3000 Years; whereas our learned *Marsham*, in his *Canon Chronicus*, under the fourth Age from the Deluge, where he speaks of the Oracles of *Egypt*, whence the *Greeks* are said first to have had their Oracles, says, the chiefest of the Oracles of *Egypt*, was that of *Latona*, in the Town *Buti*; and that an Oracle came thence to *Mycerinus*, King of *Memphis*, in the fifth Age, that he should live but six Years, and die in the seventh; *nor was there found any Oracle more antient among the* Gentiles. And how this will answer chronologically with *Plutarch*'s 3000 Years, will require Consideration; doubtless he went on another Chronology than we do, and we want him alive to make it out; but we may here note, that this Oracle of *Latona*, was about four hundred Years before *Moses* set up an Oracle by God's Appointment: For *Marsham* says, that the going out of the *Israelites* from *Egypt*, was in the ninth Age after the Flood, *viz.* in the 857th Year after it. As for the ceasing

ceasing of the Oracles among the *Jews*, *David* received many Answers from the *Mercy-Seat*. But as Sir *John Marsham* tells us, at the beginning of the fourteenth Age, where he speaks of *Solomon*'s Temple, he was the last that received any Answer from the Lord. For tho' *Solomon* made an Oracle to place there the Ark of Covenant, and made in the Oracle two Cherubims, yet neither *Solomon*, nor any of his Successors, nor of the High Priests, are read to have consulted that Oracle, much less to have received any Answer from it. So that the Ark, from that time forward, may be said as well to have been silent, as to have rested, tho' the Rabbins, and those that followed them, contended that this Oracle first ceas'd in the *Babylonian* Captivity. Again, as for the Oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*, which was the most antient Oracle among the *Jews*, *Josephus* tells us, that ceas'd two hundred Years before his Time; and we know the Prophets among the *Jews* ceas'd in *Malachi*, who was about 400 Years before Christ. Now, if the Oracle from the *Mercy-Seat* ceas'd about 1000 Years before Christ, and the Prophets among the *Jews* about 400 Years, and the Oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim* 200 Years before the time of *Josephus*; I know not why the Fathers, and other Christian Authors, should make such a stir about the ceasing of the Oracles of the *Gentiles*, about the time of the Coming of Christ; for the Wonder seems to be, how they came to hold so long, they being grown into such Contempt, that in all Probability they would have ceas'd, tho' Christianity had not been established; and many of them were ceas'd before Christ's Coming, as some of them ceas'd about his Time, and many of them held long after Christ. And we find that *Julian*, being urg'd by the Christians concerning the ceasing of the Oracles of the *Gentiles*, he answer'd, that the Spirit of Prophecy was ceas'd also among the *Jews*; and that the Christians themselves had no Oracles to consult.

ſult. To which, *Cyril* of *Alexandria* reply'd, *Tom.* 4. *L.* 6. *contr. Julian.* pag. 198, 199. That if the Spirit of Prophecy were ceas'd among the *Hebrews*, it was, that all the holy Prophets, who had received their Knowledge from the holy Spirit, proclaimed the Myſtery of Chriſt; but after he was come, and appeared to Men, the Grace of antient Prophecy ceas'd: But that now God inſpired the Saints with the Knowledge of future Things at his pleaſure, and dwelt in their Souls. But here it may be ſaid, that tho' the Prophets generally proclaimed the Myſtery of Chriſt, yet the Oracles from the *Mercy-Seat*, and by *Urim* and *Thummim*, did not relate to the Myſtery of Chriſt, nor can any Reaſon be aſſigned for the ceaſing of the Oracles from the *Mercy-Seat*, but God's Pleaſure, after he had eſtabliſh'd *David*, a King according to his own Heart, on the Throne; the ceaſing of the Oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim* being to be aſcribed to the ſame cauſe.

Again, we find the Oracles, and all Divinations, were ridicul'd on the Stage, even before the Times of *Malachi*, in whom Prophecies ceas'd among the *Jews*; for *Euripides*, who was before him, in his *Helena*, *Act.* 2. *v.* 359. brings an old Man on the Stage, who ſays thus:

But now it's plain, before our Eyes,
Prophets are vain, and full of Lyes.
In Flame divine of ſacred Fire,
There's nothing ſound, nor to admire
In Chant of Birds; nay, Madneſs 'twere
To think Birds help in Mens Affair.

And beneath,

Perhaps you'll ſay, God won't have this
Thing known; why then mind Prophecies?
With Sacrifice we muſt appeaſe
The Gods, and Bounties ask of theſe;

Not

Not heeding Prophecies, those vain
Amusements of the Life of Man.
No Slug grows rich by prophetizing,
A sound Mind with a good advising,
A Prophet is.

And the Chorus adds,

I'm of the same Mind with the old Man
Concerning Prophets; he that can
Get Heaven's Favour, has the best
Of Divinations in his Breast.

To say somewhat of the Oracle of *Delphos*, Father *l'Esprit*, Provincial of the *Capucins* for the Province of *Normandy*, published a Book in *French*, *Anno* 1652. in *Quarto*, in which he gave an account of a Possession of the *Nuns* at *Louviers*, near *Rouën*; where, after having observed that some of the Devils possessing the *Nuns*, were learned, and others not, he tells us, *pag.* 285. that he asked one Devil, possessing a *Nun*, his Name; who answer'd, his Name was *Delphon*, and that this Name was composed of several Languages; *De*, being *Latin*, *el*, *Hebrew*, and *phon*, *Greek*: So that the word *Delphon* signified the Light of God; and to this Name, *says he*, the glorious Gift of Agility answers. Hereupon Father *l'Esprit* interrupting him, said, it ought rather to be the Gift of Brightness. The Devil reply'd, Go you Dog, it's by Motion and Agility that the Sun communicates its Brightness to the whole Hemisphere; and so *Delphon* does by his Agility, going every where to make himself honoured and reverenced. So far Father *l'Esprit*.

Now it's known, that the Oracle of *Delphos* was the most celebrated Oracle throughout the World among the *Gentiles*; and if this Etymology will bear, there could not be a more splendid Title given an Oracle, than to call it the Light of God.

Sir

Sir *John Marſham*, in his eleventh Age after the Flood, ſpeaking of the Kings of the *Argives*, tells us, That the Times of *Acriſius*, a King there, Grandſon to *Danaus*, were celebrated by the Inſtitution of the *Delphick* Oracle: *Phœmonoe*, who was the firſt Prieſteſs there, ſinging Anſwers to him in Heroick Verſe, twenty-ſeven Years before *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, and *Linus* Maſter of *Hercules* were in being, who all flouriſhed in this Age. That *Phœmonoe* was of great Fame, ſhe being the firſt Interpreter of the God *Apollo*, and the firſt that ſang Oracles in *Hexameters*, ſhe having invented that Verſe.

I know Men are of various Opinions concerning what is underſtood by the Name of *Tripod*, on which the *Pythia* is ſaid to have ſat when ſhe delivered her Oracles, and I have Notes by me drawn from many Authors, in order to have cleared this Matter: but I find the Accounts are ſo contradictory concerning it, that it is not to be done ſatisfactorily, and we are left only to Conjecture; nor do I wonder at it, ſince the *Jews*, from whom other things might have been expected, have not preſerved us a Tradition to be rely'd on concerning the *Urim* and *Thummim*, what they were; Authors in their Accounts of them agreeing like Clocks, *Aben Ezra*, and others of the *Rabbins* plainly ſaying they knew not what they were. The learned *Peireskius* thought there was ſome great Myſtery contained in the *Tripod*, and was very ſollicitous in conſulting learned Men concerning it; but we have no account of any ſatisfactory Anſwers he could get in it. If a *Tripod* had been uſed in all the Temples of the Oracles, ſomewhat more than ordinary might have been imagined in it; but being uſed only in a Temple or two, it may leſſen our thoughts that way: And according to all Accounts, Oracles were long given at *Delphos* before *Tripods* were in uſe; for upon the firſt diſcovery of that Oracle, all Perſons that came to the Mouth of the Cave there, and re-

ceived the prophetick Breath, were ſeiz'd with the Spirit of Divination. And whereas the Temple of *Delphos* was five times built, as *Pauſanias* tells us, *L.* 10. the laſt of which Temples was ſtanding in his Time, we find, that under the third Temple, which he ſays was made of Braſs (the firſt being only of Laurels, and the ſecond of as poor Materials) no *Tripod* was uſed; of which Temple, *Licetus*, in his Book entitled, *Antiqua Schemata Gemmarum Annularium*, p. 185. has given us a fine Cut; where the Braſs Temple ſtands on a Rock, having a large Laurel Branch iſſuing from the top of its Roof, and ſpreading itſelf obliquely over the Entrance, the *Pythia* ſtanding in view within the Entrance of the Temple, no *Tripod* appearing, and giving an anſwer to one who comes to conſult the Oracle; her Body being naked from the Navel upwards, and ſhe having a looſe Garment, which hangs on her right Shoulder, and covers alſo the lower Parts of her Body to her Feet; which Garment ſhe holds together with her right Hand, and has a Harp in her left. This Temple is built in a round Form, with Pillars, and has a wrought Roof in the form of a Dome or Cupula. And tho' *Licetus* does not ſay it was made of Braſs, yet the Cut could not be taken from any other; the Make of it, and its Antiquity, as being before the uſe of *Tripods*, being conſidered: which *Tripod*, with all its Circumſtances, ſeems to me to have added little or nothing to the divinatory Faculty; but was introduced partly for the conveniency of the *Pythia*, that the Breath immediately received from the Mouth of the Cave might not offend her; partly as a Type of the three Succeſſions of Time, all known to *Apollo*, and partly as a theatrical Amuſement for the People; as we know, in a few Centuries after Chriſt, ſuch Amuſements were introduced into the Chriſtian Church, which in ſome ſort ſeem a Revival of Judaiſm.

As

As to the Form of the *Tripod*, it was a Machine consisting of four Parts, as *Martinius* describes it in his *Lexicon*. *First*, Of a Frame with three Feet, whence it was called a *Tripod*. *Secondly*, Of a Crater, that is, a Bason or Bowl set in that Frame. *Thirdly*, of a Plate or Table of Gold, or gilt, which covered the Bason on which the *Pythia* sat to deliver the Oracles. And this Table covering the Bason, was the Table of the Sun, or *Apollo*, on which he inspired the Propheteſs: Such a golden Table also dedicated to the Sun, being placed on a rich Bed in a Chappel, on the top of the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* at *Babylon*, where a Woman attended it; which Temple was 900 Foot high, as *Herodotus* tells us: and the Table at *Delphos* was called *Holmus*, whence also *Apollo* was stiled *Enholmus*, and the Propheteſſes *Enholmides*. *Fourthly*, There was a Brass hollow Covering over this Table, within which the *Pythia* sate, and whence her resonant Voice came: which Covering was called *Cortina*, and hence *Apollo* was stiled *Cortinipotens*. And conformably to this, *Gifanius* on *Lucretius*, *p.* 399. writes, The brasen Cover of the *Tripod* was the *Cortina*, the *Tripod* was a very great golden Vessel; this had a golden Plate or Table laid over it, on which the *Pythia* sate when she gave Oracles. They called that Plate *Holmus*, as *Julius Pollux* says, *L.* 10.

The Author of the *Delphi Phœnicizantes* seems to agree with this Description of the *Tripod* in all things but the *Cortina*: He says, that those of *Delphos*, to conform themselves in all things with the way of the *Hebrews*, and to set up an Oracle at *Delphos*, like to that at *Silo*, made there the like Machines, *viz.* a *Cortina*, to the likeness of the *Tabernacle*; a *Tripod*, to the likeness of the *Ark of Testimony*; and an *Holmus*, to the likeness of the *Mercy-Seat*; on which *Holmus* the *Pythia* sate, or stood, when she gave Oracles; as there were two Cherubims on the *Mercy-Seat*. But I cannot allow the *Cortina* to have been an Edifice

raiſed to cover the *Tripod*, as he ſuppoſes, and no Author elſe, as far as I know; but rather that it was ſuch a Cover to the *Tripod* and *Holmus*, as I have mentioned: tho' I conceive ſuch a Covering as I have deſcribed before to the braſs Temple, from *Licetus*, may not unaptly be called a *Cortina*, it being in the Form of a Dome, or Hemiſphere.

Now, of all the Cuts of *Tripods* I have ſeen in many Authors, that given us by *Belle-foreſt*, in his *Coſmography*, *tom.* 2. *p.* 140. where he gives an account of an *Achaia*, ſeems, as I conceive, to come neareſt the true one; it being compleatly mounted, and looking more like a *Tripod* of uſe, than ſuch as are commonly ſeen in Authors, which are only the Cuts of little votive *Tripods*, never intended for uſe: and this Cut of *Belle-foreſt*, which I here alſo give you, was taken, as he ſays, from a *Tripod* found in the Ruins of *Delphos*, tho' he does not tell us from what Hands he had it; and its *Cortina* is in the form of a Tent, as the Author of the *Delphi Phœnicizantes* conceives the true one was. Indeed no Baſon appears in this Cut; but the three large Thighs appearing in it, ſuppoſing both the Legs and Thighs of this *Tripod* to have been of Braſs, and hollow, as they ſeem to have been, might very well have ſupply'd the Place of a Baſon, if the uſe of it, as it's conceived, were chiefly for its ringing, and ſonorous Quality; or thoſe three large Thighs may not improperly be look'd upon as three *Craters*, or Baſons, anſwering to three Feet of the *Tripod*: and as for the three interwoven triangular Figures which are ſeen in the middle of the *Cortina* of that *Tripod*, I conceive, that as the *Pythagoreans* called the *Tripod*, *Triops*, with regard to the ſight *Apollo* has of the Times preſent, paſt, and to come; ſo thoſe three Figures were to denote three Eyes, with regard to that three-fold Sight, as the three Feet of the *Tripod* are ſaid to have denoted the ſame. If any Man can

offer

This TRIPOD *was found in the Ruins of* Delphos.

☞ N.B. *The Binder is to place this Cut to face p:* 140.

offer a more probable Conjecture concerning those three Figures, I should be glad to see it.

Mr. *Schottus*, Antiquary to the King of *Prussia*, published a Book in *French*, *Anno* 1714, with this Title; *A new Explication of the Apotheosis of* Homer, *represented on an ancient Marble, and concerning the Use of the* Tripod *at* Delphos, *and of the Employ of the Engastrimuthi.* Now, as for the Explication of the *Apotheosis* of *Homer*, represented on the Marble, it seems to me he has given a considerable Light to it more than what was given before, by *Kercher*, *Cuper*, *Heinsius*, *Gronovius*, and *Westein*, all Men of great Name, whose Explications he has set forth in his Book; and on the occasion of the Figure of a *Cortina*, as he conceives, in the Marble, he comes to treat of the *Cortina*, and the other Parts of the *Tripod*, and its Use, with whom I cannot agree in many respects. He conceives the *Cortina* and *Bason* were two Hemispheres made exactly to fit each other, so that both join'd made a Sphere, and he has given us several Cuts of *Tripods* with those two Hemispheres so join'd: but I conceive those *Basons* and *Cortina*, so join'd, were only in little votive *Tripods*, and not in *Tripods* of use, tho' these also were sometimes votive, or given to the Temple, as that of *Belle-forest* seems to have been, they not being so convenient for the *Pythia* to sit on, as a *Cortina* in the form of a Tent, unless the *Cortina*, made in the form of an Hemisphere, were very large: and indeed we want the true Dimensions of the *Basons* and *Cortina* in use, as to their Depth and Diameter, which I have not met with in any Author. Again, Mr. *Schottus* makes the *Cortina* and *Holmus*, or golden Plate which covered the Bason on which the *Pythia* sate, to be the same thing, which confounds the whole Description of the *Tripod*; and whereas he makes the *Pythia* to sit on the *Cortina*, this could not be, if the *Cortina* were in the form of a Tent, nor can I conceive how it should well be, if it were in the form of an Hemisphere.

Beside,

Beſide, her ſitting on it would hinder its Sound, concerning which Sound I ſhall ſpeak beneath; whereas if ſhe ſat on the Gold Plate, the Sound both of the *Baſon* and *Cortina* would be free, eſpecially if the Plate, tho' it covered the *Baſon*, reſted on the Frame of the *Tripod*, which probably it might. In the Cuts of *Tripods*, given by *Du Choul*, we find a ſingle Crow, a Bird for Divination, ſtanding on the Gold Plate, or *Holmus* of one of them; and two Crows with a Garland of Laurels, which the *Pythia* uſed to put on her Head when ſhe gave Oracles, plac'd betwixt them, ſtanding on the *Holmus* of another of them: which makes it probable that the *Pythia* alſo ſate there, no Crow having been ſeen plac'd on the *Cortina*, nor any Seat ever ſeen there for the Propheteſs to ſit on. And the learned *Spanheim*, in his Notes on *Callimachus*, vol. 2. p. 388. has given us a Cut of a *Tripod*, with an Altar, or little Table plac'd over the *Baſon*, which could not ſtand there, unleſs a Plate covered the Baſon, to ſupport it; and he has another Cut there, with a Garland of Laurels on the Middle of the ſaid Plate.

All Accounts agree that a great Noiſe was made in the *Tripod*, when the Oracles were given. So *Virgil*, where he ſpeaks of *Æneas* conſulting the Oracle at *Delos*;

> ——*Tremere omnia viſa repente,*
> *Liminâque, Lauruſque Dei, totuſque moveri*
> *Mons circum, & mugire adytis Cortina reclusis.*

So *Ovid*, *Met.* 15. v. 135, concerning the Oracle at *Delphos*:

> *Et locus, & laurus, & quas habet illa Pharetræ*
> *Intremuêre ſimul, Cortináque reddidit imo*
> *Hanc adyto vocem, pavefactaque pectora movit.*

So

So *Seneca*, in *Œd. Act.* 2. where *Creon* ſpeaks,

Gemina Parnaſſi nivalis Arx trucem Sonitum dedit,
Imminens Phœbæa laurus tremuit & movit domum.
Incipit lethæa vates ſpargere horrentes comas,
Et pati commota Phœbum. Contigit nondum ſpecum,
Emicat vaſto fragore major humano ſonus.

So *Nonnus*, where he makes mention of the Oracle given to *Cadmus*, ſays, the *Tripod* was a circular Body giving a Sound of it ſelf; and that it ſeems likely, when the terrible Sound of the *Tripod* began to ceaſe, the *Pythoniſſæ* were put into a Fury, as in the *Orgia* of *Bacchus*, the ringing of the Cymbals put the *Bacchants* and Tygers into a Fury: And I am inclined to think, that beſide that great Noiſe, there was a ringing of Braſs uſed in the Divinations at *Delphos*, the *Lebetes* here being of the ſame kind with the Baſons of *Dodona*; and as Dr. *Spon* ſays, in his *Diſſertation de Tripode*, he conceives that ſome Perſons attending the Oracle, uſed to ſtrike with Rods on the *Tripod*, as on a Muſical Inſtrument, making it to yield more obtuſe or acute Sounds, and ſometimes fitting their Voices to it, obſerving a certain Harmony; ſo that theſe, with the loud Noiſe, might join in Harmony as a Treble and Baſe: And *Pindarus* tells us, there were beautiful Virgins who uſed to ſing from the upper Part of the Braſen Temple at *Delphos*, when Oracles were given; which Temple *Pauſanias* tells us was ſwallowed up by an Earthquake, and melted by the Fire; and which Singing we may judge ſupplied the Place of the noiſy Muſick there, after the *Tripod* came in Uſe.

Before I ſpeak farther of the great Noiſe which was cauſed in the *Tripod*, I ſhall firſt give you the following Account of the *Tripod* which was in the Cuſtody of the Learned *Peireskius*. In the Year 1629,

as

as Dr. *Spon* says, or as *Gassendus* says, 1630; a Brass *Tripod* was found in the *Forum Julii*, on the Coast of the Sea of *Liguria*, and was carried to *Peireskius*, whose Life is written by *Gassendus*, in which he describes it, as Dr. *Spon* also does in his *Miscel. Erud. Antiq.* where he has also given us a Cut of it: But they seem to me both so obscure in their Descriptions, that I cannot get any clear Notion of it from them, which I should suspect to proceed from the Tardiness of my Apprehension, unless the learned *Spanheim*, in his Notes on *Callimachus*, *Tom.* 2. *p.* 390. had observed, that *Gassendus* is short and perplex'd in his Description of it. And as for Dr. *Spon*, he leaves the thing obscure in several respects: For first, he does not give us the Dimensions of that *Tripod*, but says, it may properly be called a *Delphick* or *Pythian Tripod*, and seems to be made according to the Proportion and Likeness of the true *Delphick Tripod*; whereas *Gassendus* tells us, it was little more than a Foot high, and was look'd upon as a Votive *Tripod*, such as were hung up in the Temples, so that it could not have been a *Tripod* of Use, as the Doctor seems to have fancied it, according to the large Figure he has given us of it, *p.* 118. where he describes it thus: It is composed of five Parts, of which the lower-most is as the *Basis*, on which three others stands, as Legs, or Pillars, supporting the fifth, which is in the Form of a Bowl or Bason, the whole made of Yellow Brass, and well wrought. He calls the *Basis* on which the three Feet stood, *Hypocrateridion*; a Term used also by *Plutarch* in his Tract of *the Ceasing of Oracles*, and signifies a Cratercula, or little Bason, and is of a Triangular Figure, made after the Form of that triangular Delphick Machine, which served as a Cover to the Mouth of the Cave whence the Prophetick Breath issued; and had a triangular Hole in the mid'st of it, over which the *Pythia* sat when she gave Oracles. This Bason also had three short Feet under it,

it, to support it; whence he says it was called a *Tripod*, tho' I think it much more reasonable that Machine should have been called so from the three large Feet standing on the *Basis*. *Gassendus* adds to this Description, that the *Cortina* was not that under Bason, for the *Pythia* does not get on that, but another Hemisphere with a sort of a scaly Surface, resembling the Skin of the Serpent slain by *Apollo*, with which the Hole before-mentioned was covered; so that the *Pythia* had the *Cortina* under her, and the other Bason hanging over her.

Now I must confess I am here wholly at a loss; for first, Dr. *Spon* does not here mention any *Cortina*, or give us any Sketch of it in his Figure, which nevertheless all Accounts tell us was used in the *Tripod* when Oracles were given. Secondly, Whereas all Accounts tell us that the *Tripod* was high raised, and the *Pythia* ascended to it; he makes her to sit in a three-square Bason at the Foot of it, which no other Account mentions. As for *Gassendus*, he mentions a *Cortina*, but tells us, no more than Dr. *Spon*, whether there were any *Cortina* belonging to *Peireskius's Tripod*; and only says the *Pythia* had it under her, and that it cover'd the Triangular Hole: and if so, it must have hindred the Prophetick Breath from ascending to the *Pythia*, no Account telling us that *Cortina* was perforated. Mr. *Scottus* also says, the *Tripod* being placed over the *Orifice* of the Cave of *Apollo*, whence the Prophetick Breath issued, the *Pythia* seated herself on the *Cortina* of the *Tripod*, whence she gave Oracles, as he says Dr. *Spon* also did, since he confounded the *Cortina* with the *Bason*; but I say Mr. *Schottus* takes no notice here as he ought, that Dr. *Spon* makes two *Basons* in his *Tripod*, and mentions no *Cortina* to cover either of them: and this I conceive must be, because he found no *Cortina* in *Peireskius's Tripod*, and yet would suppose it perfect,

which it was not, for want both of an *Holmus* and *Cortina*; *Non Tripodas Cortina tegit.*

Mr. *Schottus* proceeds farther to tell us that the *Tripod* was not designed only as a Seat, it was for a more important Use; it served for the Mouth of *Apollo* himself, who answered those that came to consult him, and not the *Pythia*. As for the Mouth of *Apollo*, he says the *Bason* and *Cortina* being made of a very sonorous Metal, and being form'd as two Hemispheres, which when joined together made a spherical Body; it is easy to conceive that the subterraneous Wind which entered with Vehemency into the round Concave by a Hole in the bottom of the Bason which he calls a Navel, excited there a loud rumbling Noise, which may be called the Voice of *Apollo*. He conceives also that the *Pythia* on the *Cortina* had a care at the same time so to modify the rumbling Noise in the Cavity of the *Tripod*, as to make it some way resemble the Words they would have *Apollo* pronounce. He also enquires into the Nature of the *Engastrimuthi* of the Ancients, and says all agree they were Persons who took on them to predict Things to come, but that all Men do not agree concerning the Persons that use this Profession, nor the way by which they practise it; most believe they were Persons who had the Faculty of speaking from their Belly, or of forming Words which seem'd to proceed from the Belly, or some other remote part; and he refers us for Instances to *Brodæus* and the *Delphi Phœnicizantes*, &c. tho' he owns this Idea does not agree with the Reflections which some of the Ancients have made concerning them. He observes, that *Hermolaus Barbarus* and *John Gerrard Vossius* thought the *Engastrimuthi* were Persons who made use of certain Vessels of Glass or of other Matter called *Gastra*, or Vessels with Bellies, by which they predicted; and he proves by Authorities, that the inside of the *Tripod* was called a Belly, and that from this

this Belly iſſued the confuſed Voice which paſſed for the Voice of *Apollo*; and he thinks we may hence conclude, that the *Engaſtrimutha*, or *Pythia*, was a Perſon who repeated or explained more diſtinctly what had been ſaid from the Belly of the *Tripod* after a more confuſed and leſs intelligible manner.

Now, as for theſe farther Particulars of Mr. *Schottus*; Whereas he ſays the *Tripod* was the Mouth of *Apollo*, who gave Anſwers himſelf, and not the *Pythia*, and that ſhe only explained the Words obſcurely delivered by *Apollo* through the *Tripod*; this is contrary to what *Plutarch*, and moſt of the other beſt Authors have writ, and the Prieſts attending the Oracle might eaſily have contrived that great rumbling Noiſe in the *Tripod*, for amuſing the People, without making it the Voice of *Apollo* to deliver obſcure Words to be explained by the *Pythia*; and ſo making her as an Attendant on a *Puppet-Show*, to explain what the *Puppets* ſay. And if *Apollo* himſelf ſpake, I would ask why could not the Prieſts take the Words from his Mouth as well as the *Pythia*, ſo that ſhe would be uſeleſs, unleſs the Words became more Authentick by coming from the Mouth of an old Woman than from *Apollo*; and I wiſh he had told us whether he thought that which he calls the Voice or obſcure Words of *Apollo*, really proceeded from a *Pythonick* Spirit, or only by contrivance from the Prieſts attending the Oracle, for I find him generally inclin'd to Dr. *Van Dale*'s Opinion, *viz.* that all Things relating to the Oracle were carried on by their Impoſture. And if it be his Opinion there was no ſuch Thing as a *Pythonick Spirit*, I wiſh he would read the Anſwer Father *Baltus* has writ to Mr. *Fontenelle*'s Book of Oracles, which is an Abridgment of Dr. *Van Dale*; and he will find that Anſwer has ſilenced him: So that no Reply has been made, and I believe Mr. *Scottus* may find it will not bear a fair Reply, and I have given an Abſtract of that Anſwer

beneath. Whereas Mr. *Schottus* quotes *Hermolaus Barbarus* from *Leo Allatius*, saying that the *Engastrimuthi* were Persons that made use of certain Vessels of Glass, or of other matter called *Gastra* or Vessels with Bellies, by which they predicted; to have dealt ingenuously, he should have given us the whole Passage of *Leo Allatius*, which is thus in his *Syntagma de Engastrimutho*, pag. 422. *Hermolaus Barbarus* writes, he thinks that those who in Divinations use Basons are called by the *Greeks Engastrimantes*, which word does not much differ from *Engastrimuthus*, because *Gaster* is a kind of Vessel whose Form is variously understood: but whoever knows the various Kinds of Divinations, will readily confess that *Hermolaus Barbarus*, with others, are deceived in a plain Fact; for the Divination which is made by the Instigation of the Devil in a human Body, and those which are made in Vessels, as in Glass Vials full of Water, or in a Bason, or a Chest, or other Things, the Devil suggesting certain Figures and Images, mightily differ, and are of a very differing nature; wherefore they are not to be confounded. *Brodæus* found out the Error of these Men, who *Lib. 9. C. 19.* writes, that those are deceived who say the *Engastrimantes* use *Basons*, and a certain Vessel which is called *Gaster*. *Psellus*, *Nicetus*, *Cedrenus*, *Curopalates*, *Glycas*, and the *Pseudo-Antisthenes* in the Life of *Alexander the Great*, give us Instances of Divinations by a Bason, Vials, and other Vessels. So that *Leo Allatius*, *Brodæus*, and many others are clearly against the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* and Mr. *Schottus*, unless they will enlarge the Signification of the Word *Engastrimuthus*, and make it the same with *Pythomantes*, which signifies any one who predicts any way future Things by the help of the Devil; and Dr. *Van Dale* in his Book *De Divinationibus Idololatricis*, c. 9. shews that the *Pythia*, in giving Answers, was not with'd an *Engastrimitha*, for these generally deliver'd their Words with

with an obscure Muttering, and the *Pythia* with a Voice more than human.

I somewhat wonder that none of the Fathers have given us a particular Account of the Noise made in the *Tripod*, and other Particulars of the Oracle at *Delphos* and elsewhere; since *Eusebius*, *de Præf. Evang. l.* 4. *c.* 1. writes thus: Many of the Prophets and Soothsayers, not only of the Antients, but even of our Time, being forc'd by Torments, have declared that the whole Affair of the Oracles was carried on by their Inventions; from whom also we know the Ways and Artifices used by them have been exquisitely laid open; and they, as Seducers and ill Men, have been put to death, according to the Laws: Which things are so clear, that they are known to all Men. For not only some of the Vulgar, but others of the Better Sort, and even Philosophers, who valued themselves on the account of their Gown and Learning, own'd it: Whence some one perhaps will not stick to say, that neither Gods nor Devils set up these Oracles, if they were the Inventions of seducing and wicked Men for filthy Lucre. Which Opinion, we know, pleased many of the *Greeks*, and mostly the most celebrated Philosophers; for the *Peripateticks*, *Cynicks*, and *Epicureans* think so, whom I greatly admire, for that being born and educated in most corrupt Manners, and taught by their Parents to reverence their Gods and Oracles, they could of themselves emerge from those Errors, so that they dared also to write that the Oracles were not only false, but likewise useless and detrimental to many. The said *Eusebius*, in his second Chapter adds this: Tho the Vanity of the Oracles may be shewn many ways, yet I have resolved not to answer after this way, *viz.* that the Oracles were set up wholly by the subtle Inventions of Men; but as I have begun, not denying them to be from some Power, because the Refutation of this Point does not a little conduce

to

to the Gospel. For if it shall be shown, that both *Greeks* and *Barbarians* were ignorant of the true God before the coming of Christ, and were led away as blind Men, by seducing Dæmons; the Mystery of the Evangelical Dispensation, whereby we are freed from that Seducing and Oppression, cannot but be much admired. So far *Eusebius*. Where two things ought to be noted: First, That the Christians in his time forced the Priests attending the Oracles openly to declare all the Artifices used by them in carrying them on, so that they might have conveyed them to Posterity. Secondly, That notwithstanding all the Artifices used, the antient Christians held the *Pythiæ* were possess'd with a *Pythonick* Spirit.

As *Peireskius* was much amused concerning the *Tripod*, and spared no pains in consulting learned Persons concerning the Mysteries which he conceived lay in it; so I think when we consider the various Relations we have concerning many other things relating to the *Delphick* Oracle, they may no less deserve our Consideration: Some say it was a Tyrant, some a Robber, some a Serpent, and some a Gyant that was overcome and slain by *Apollo*, and gave an occasion for the Institution of the *Pythian Games*: And as for the Place of this Victory, some tell us the *Pytho* was slain in *Mysia*, some in *Phrygia*, some in *Cilicia*, some in *Pythecusa*, some in *Bœotia*, and some in *Syria*. And as for *Apollo* himself, whom they feign to be the Father of the Day and of Light, he is as hard to be found; whom some affirm to be the Son of *Jupiter*, others of *Bacchus*, some mythically make him a God, some interpret him to be the Sun, others say he was a military Commander, so that the *Pythian Apollo* must be consulted concerning himself. The ingenious Author of the *Delphi Phœnicizantes* has a particular Opinion concerning this matter: He tells us, that in a manner all things which are related concerning *Apollo*, and the *Pytho*, chiefly regard *Joshuah* the Leader of the *Israelites*, and *Og* the King

King of *Basan*; and that whatever was most celebrated among the *Delphians*, whether it regarded the *Pæanick Games*, or the Temple itself, the Oracle, the *Tripod*, or the other things, were formerly taken from the *Hebrews*.

Now, as I have before allow'd, that there is a good Agreement betwixt the *Tripod* and the Ark of Testimony, and betwixt the *Holmus* and the *Mercy-Seat*, which this Author contends for; and unless I had seen the Cut of the large *Cortina*, covering the *Tripod* in the form of a Tent, in *Belle-foreſt*, as mentioned before, I might have been inclin'd to think the Edifice he mention'd raised over the *Tripod*, might have served for the *Cortina*: yet, as to what he says, that what is related of *Apollo* and *Pytho*, was originally meant of *Joshua* and *Og*, I cannot agree with him.

To give my own Sense of these Matters, when I consider, that the Priests attending the Oracles were acquainted in the whole Mystery of *Gentilism* relating to religious Practices, and perfectly knowing in their Initiations and the Methods used in them; I must conclude, that the Affair of the Oracle related to those Initiations, for bringing Men to a regenerate State, which is the highest Perfection the Mind of Man can be brought to in this Life: and that by *Apollo*, they meant the holy Spirit attending that State, by whom all things are revealed to us; and tho' the *Gentiles* had not a right Foundation of Faith to proceed upon, yet, according to the Knowledge they had of God, in which they came little short of Christians, they had ways of bringing the Mind to a Purity and Conformity with him, and so disposing it for a revealed State, in which Oracles are given: And as Divines tell us, that Prophecy is a Gift *gratis datum, non gratum faciens*, it does not seem strange if God sometimes let the *Gentiles* partake of it, tho' they often abused it, either voluntarily, or for want

want of knowing, in some Particulars, what God might require of them, being misled by evil Spirits. *Plutarch*, who was a Priest of *Apollo*, and a Native of *Bœotia*, where the Oracle was, and, as it may be presum'd, as critically knowing in all things relating to it, as any Man, in his Tract of *The Cessation of Oracles*, introduces, among others, one *Cleombrotus*, who came from the Oracle, and, on an occasion given, makes the following Relation. The Tent of Boughs, which is erected every ninth Year in the *Area* of the Temple, is not the Representation of the retiring Place, or dark-shaded Lurking-Hole of a Dragon; but rather of the House or Habitation of some Tyrant, or King, and the Assault is given him by a silent Surprize, at the Gate called *Dolonia*, that is, the Spy Gate; the young Lad, who a little after is brought there, having a Father and Mother; the Tent set on fire, by casting burning Torches at it, the Table over-turn'd; and then those that have done it flying through the Gates of the Temple, without looking back; and, lastly, the Flight of the Lad to many Places, and his being brought to Bondage; and, after all, the Expiations and Ceremonies that are used in the Valley of *Tempe*, make me suspect that this represents some notable Exploit and bold Enterprize which has formerly happen'd: for it's a Jest to say, that *Apollo*, for having killed the Dragon, was forced to fly to the remotest Parts of *Greece*, to be set right again, and purify'd; and that there he made some Offerings and Effusions, as Men do when they will appease the Anger and Indignation of those *Dæmons* we call *Alastores* and *Palumnei*: that is to say, Pursuers of Punishment and Vengeance for such enormous Crimes, the Memory of which lasts for ever, or of some very ancient Offences. It's true, the Discourse I have sometime heard related concerning this Flight, and Absenting, is very strange and wonderful; but if it contains somewhat of Truth,

Truth, we must not think it a small and vulgar thing which was then transacted at the Place of the Oracle. So far *Cleombrotus*, who relates this Story, by the by, as he had heard it, tho' he afterwards declares it his Opinion, that *Dæmons* presided in the Oracles.

Now, as for the foregoing Story, I shall give you my Sense of it in short; *viz.* I look on the Serpent, or *Python*, which is said to be overcome and slain by *Apollo*, to be the animal or old Man subdued and slain by the Holy Spirit, which attends a regenerate State. This is that *Python* of which *Virgil* speaks in his 4 *Ecl.*

Occidet & Serpens, & fallax Herba Veneni
Occidet, Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.

And a little beneath,

Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus Orbem.

As for applying all the Particulars before set down, according to this Interpretation, I leave it to Men acquainted in the Work of Regeneration. As for others, perhaps such Applications might seem tedious to them, or be received with contempt.

The said *Plutarch*, in his Treatise concerning the word *Ei*, which is engraved on the Gate of *Apollo*'s Temple at *Delphos*, tells us of many other things which deserved to be considered there; *viz.* Why they never burn there but the Wood of the Fir-Tree, to keep in the eternal Fire? Why no Perfume is there made but of the Laurel-Tree? Why in that Temple there are the Pictures only of two Destinies, and not of three, as there are every where else? Why it is not permitted any Woman to approach the Oracle? And such other Matters, which incite and draw all Men of Thought to ask, desire, hear, and discourse of the Meaning of these Things. To shew

the Truth of this, he bids us only consider how many Questions have been raised, and learned Discourses made concerning these two little Sentences there found, *Know yourself*, and *Nothing too much*; and he says the word *Ei* is no less fertile for occasioning such fine Discourses. And in the conclusion of this Tract, he says the word *Ei* is in some sort contrary to that Precept, *Know yourself*, and in something agreeing with it: for the former is a Word of Adoration and Admiration of God, as he is Eternal and always in Being; and the latter is a Notifying and Memorial to mortal Man of the Weakness and Inability of his Nature. And we find that *Cicero*, in his *Tusculan Questions*, *L.* 5. gives a fine Explication of this Precept, *Know yourself*; where he says, As we consider the admirable Order of the World, and revolve it day and night in our Minds, we arrive at the Science enjoin'd at *Delphos*, viz. That the Mind of Man having deposed all Vice, know itself, and have a Sense of its being united with the Divine Mind, by which it's fill'd with an insatiable Joy. I must confess, I know no higher Expression, or more feeling Resentment of a Deity can be uttered by a regenerate Christian. And it seems no wonder, that *Plutarch*, who was the most learned of all the *Gentiles* since Christianity, having so great an Esteem, as he expresses, for the Founders of the Oracle of *Delphos*, and for their Precepts and Institutions, and perhaps not having conversed with the learned Christians, still continued a *Gentile*.

I may here note, That the two short Precepts, *Know yourself*, and *Nothing too much*, are said to have been first introduced by *Thales* and *Chilo*, two of the wise Men of *Greece*; for *Thales* being ask'd, What he thought the most difficult thing in Nature? answer'd, The Knowledge of a Man's self. And *Chilo* had often this Saying in his Mouth, Desire nothing too much: But the *Amphictyons*, who were the Deputies for

for the general Council of *Greece*, are ſaid to have cauſed thoſe two ſhort Sentences, and this other, *he that anſwers pays*, to be writ on the Gates of the *Pythian Apollo*; as *Plutarch* tells us in his Diſcourſe concerning *ſpeaking too much.*

Plutarch alſo, in the Conſolation he ſent to *Apollonius* on the Death of his Son, writes thus: There are two Precepts writ in the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, very neceſſary for Human Life; the one is, *Know yourſelf*; the other, *Nothing too much:* for on theſe two Precepts all the others depend. And theſe two are conſonant and agree together, explaining each other as much as poſſible; for in *know yourſelf, nothing too much* is contained; and in *nothing too much, know yourſelf* is comprized: and therefore the Poet *Ion*, ſpeaking of theſe two Precepts, ſays thus:

Know yourſelf, is eaſily ſaid,
But not ſo eaſy to be done;
For none among the Gods above
This underſtands, but Jove *alone.*

And *Pindarus* ſays, the Wiſe greatly admire this Saying, *Nothing in exceſs.*

He therefore who ſhall always have ſuch a Reverence for theſe two Precepts, as ought to be ſhown the Oracle of *Apollo*, will eaſily apply them to all the Affairs of Human Life, and know how to carry himſelf dextrouſly and modeſtly, having regard to Human Nature; and not be puft up with Vain-Glory for any thing that might happen, nor be too much dejected, deſolate, and afflicted thro' a Weakneſs of Mind, adverſe Fortune, or the fear of Death, which make an Impreſſion on our Hearts for want of well knowing and conſidering what uſually happens in the Life of Man, through Neceſſity and the Diſpoſition of Fate. So *Euripides*,

Who yields to what he can't avoid,
Shews he has a right Sense of God,
And is by Men accounted wise.

And so the Poet *Epicharmus* wisely says,

A Man is made, and then unmade,
All things return to what they were:
The Soul to Heaven, and Earth to Earth,
What Harm in this? does Nature err?

So far *Plutarch.*

There is a Fable concerning *Delphos*, which may be worth noting: They say that *Jupiter*, having a mind to find the Middle of the Earth, let fly two Eagles, of equal Swiftness in their Flight; some say they were Crows, some Swans, and perhaps they were black ones, one from the East, the other from the West, which both met at *Delphos*; whence *Delphos* is called the Middle of the Earth, and the Navel of the World. And in the Temple there, a Navel of white Marble was shown in memory of this Fact, and two Golden Eagles were there placed near the *Tripod*: but many other Places also being called the Navel of the Earth, I shall here give you some Notes which I drew together, many Years since, concerning it.

Grotius tells us, That, in the Scripture, *Judea* is called by the name of the Universe, and it's in this Sense we must understand that ancient Expression of the *Jews*, when they say *Jerusalem* was seated in the middle of the Earth; that is to say, in the midst of *Judea*: as *Delphos*, which was in the middle of *Greece*, was called the Navel of the World by the *Greeks*.

The *Musselmen* tell us, That, in the place where *Mecha* was built, there was always, from the Beginning

ning of the World, a little Hill made up of red Sand, where all the *Arabians* came in Flocks to offer their Prayers for obtaining the Graces they hoped for from Heaven; and this Place, from that time, was esteem'd the Middle of the habitable Earth.

Phurnutus tells us, that *Delphos* is called the Navel of the Earth; not that it's the Middle of the Earth, but *propter* ὄμφην; that is, by reason of a divine Voice, or Oracle there given.

R. Salomon Franco writes thus: *Jerusalem* is called the Navel of the Earth, in respect of its being placed between *Africa*, *Asia*, and *Europe*. The *Jews* call the Temple the Heart of the World; and as the Heart in a Man's Body inclines somewhat towards the left Side, so the Temple on the top of the Mountain was somewhat towards the South Side. The Temple is the Heart of the World, which communicates its Influence to all Parts of the Body; and the Temple, say the *Jews*, was the Place wherein the Lord manifested himself to his People, and wherein that Divinity was present which had a particular care over them.

Munster, in a *Dialogue* he has published between a *Christian* and a *Jew*, introduces the latter speaking more fully, thus: They shall build of the Wood of *Libanus*, the Sanctuary, which is placed answering to the Throne of Majesty. And as the Throne of Majesty is the Seat of God, consequently the Sanctuary is his Footstool: nay, and the Gate of Heaven is over the Sanctuary, and this is, as it were, the Navel of the World. And the Land of *Israel* is placed in the middle of the World, and *Jerusalem* is placed in the middle of the Land of *Israel*, and the Sanctuary in the middle of *Jerusalem*, and the Temple in the middle of the Sanctuary, and the Ark in the middle of the Temple; and the Temple of Sanctity is called the Throne of Majesty.

Dr.

Dr. *Rauwolfe*, in the account of his Travels, writes, That the *Greeks* have at *Jeruſalem* the Temple of Mount *Calvary*, the Place of Skulls whereon Chriſt was crucified, and alſo the beautiful Chancel that is in the middle of the Church; wherein is a round Hole, about a Span over, in a Stone which is, as they pretend, the middle of the Earth: according to the Words of *David*, when he ſays, *God who is my King, from the beginning, has framed us in the middle of the Earth.*

I may add here what is ſaid, *Ezek.* C. v. V. 5. *Thus ſays the Lord Jehovah, that is* Jeruſalem, *I have placed it in the midſt of the Nations, and the Earth round about it.* And *Buxtorf*, in his *Lex. Chald. Thalm.* p. 2054. tells us, that the *Rabbiniſts* ſay the World is like to the Eye, whoſe White is repreſented by the Ocean, which ſurrounds the whole World, the Black is the World itſelf; the Apple that is in the Black, is *Jeruſalem*; and the Image which is ſeen in the Apple, is the Sanctuary.

We know it has been a politick Practice for Princes to place their chief Seats in the Hearts of their Country, for an eaſy diſpatch to all their Provinces, as occaſions might require; and this holds as well in Spiritual Affairs, as in Temporal. As for thoſe who would be more critically knowing how *Jeruſalem* came to be called the Navel of the Earth, I refer them to the *Liber Coſri*, publiſhed by *Buxtorf*, in *Hebrew* and *Latin*, at *Baſil*, in the Year 1660. where, in his Notes, he has inſerted what Mr. *Selden* has written on that Point.

It ſeems ſtrange how the *Peruvians* ſhould fall in with the Notion of theſe Parts of the World, in calling their chief Town *Cuſco*, the Navel of the Earth, the word *Cuſco* ſignifying a Navel: Concerning which, *Garcilliſſo de la Vega*, in his ſecond Book, *c.* 11. of the *Yncas*, writes thus: The Empire of the Kings, *Yncas*, was by themſelves divided into four Parts, which they

they call the four Parts of the World, conformably to the four Parts of the Heavens, *East*, *West*, *North*, and *South*. The Town of *Cusco* was the Point or Center of the said Empire, and it signifies, in the particular Language of the *Yncas*, the Navel of the Earth; a Name not improperly given it, nor without a great Resemblance: for all *Peru* is long and narrow, as the Body of Man is, the Town of *Cusco* makes almost the middle of it.

If any Man will still be uneasy, till he finds some Satisfaction concerning the Navel, or Middle of the Earth, he may read the beginning of *Plutarch*'s Tract concerning *The Cessation of the Oracles*, where he writes thus: *Epimenides* having heard the Story of the Flight of two Eagles, or Swans; and being desirous to know whether this Story were true, consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, where the Middle, or Navel of the Earth was; who gave him an ambiguous and uncertain Answer, so that he could find no fix'd Sense: wherefore he composed these Verses,

There is no Navel in the Sea,
Nor in the Earth; and if there be,
Presume not this to Man is known,
But to the Mind of God alone.

Thus *Apollo* aptly chastised this curious Enquirer, who was for bringing an old Fable to the critical Test of Truth. So far *Plutarch*.

As for the Question, Whether evil Spirits were concerned in the Oracles delivered to the *Gentiles*, we know Dr. *Van Dale*, and Mr. *Fontenelle* maintain the Negative. But if they had read and duly considered *Vossius*, *de Idololatriâ*, Vol. I. L. 1. C. 6. possibly it might have sav'd them the labour of composing their Books of Oracles. I shall here give you an Abstract of what *Vossius* delivers in his fore-mention'd Book and Chapter.

That

That there are miniſtring Spirits both good and evil, which, by the Philoſophers, are called by the common Name of *Dæmons*, by the *Peripateticks* Intelligences; by *Chriſtians*, good and bad Angels; is a Doctrine which has paſs'd by Tradition, for many Ages, and is confirmed by a fourfold Reaſon, *viz.* by Specters, Oracles, Magick Arts, and Prodigies.

The *Sadduces* did not acknowledge Spirits; or if they did, they underſtood by them only Qualities produced by God in the Mind of him whom he would inſtruct in ſomething; or they thought God produc'd Spirits when he would employ them, and afterwards deſtroyed them; and produc'd them, by ſeparating ſomewhat from the Soul of the World, which afterwards returned into the general Nature.

Among the Philoſophers of the *Gentiles*, *Democritus* did not own any Spirits. Nor *Ariſtotle*, others than the Movers of the Celeſtial Orbs; which likewiſe his chief Interpreters held, as *Alexander*, *Simplicius*, and *Averrhoes*. Tho' others of them held otherwiſe; but theſe receded therein from their Maſter, as well as in other things. Firſt, *Theophraſtus*; many Ages afterwards, *Ammonius*, *Philoponus*; and among the *Arabians*, *Avicenna* and *Algazel*: nor was there cauſe why theſe ſhould be ſworn to the Opinion of *Democritus*, or *Ariſtotle*, who before had left the Opinion of the Ancients. For *Pythagoras* aſſerted *Dæmons*; and if we believe *Simplicius*, *Lib. de Anima*, he was the firſt of the Philoſophers that did it. Nor is it to be doubted, but in it *Pythagoras* followed thoſe whom he had uſed for Maſters; the *Thracians*, *Egyptians*, *Perſians*, *Chaldeans*, and others. *Plato* followed this Opinion, and his Followers, *Apuleius*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Proclus*, and *Pſellus*.

It may ſeem ſtrange, whence the *Gentiles* knew there were Spirits, or *Dæmons*, which the *Sadduces*, *Peripateticks*, and other Men, of great Name, deny: as many do at this day, who believe nothing but what

what they feel with their Hands, or see with their Eyes. Yet not only the Vulgar of the *Gentiles*, but the Flower of the People among them, held there were Spirits: nor were these Men ignorant, that Impostors sometimes feign Spectres, or melancholy or mad Persons sometimes say they see them. And the same happens, thro' too much Fear, to many Persons, whence Women and Children, and the like, see them: And the like Reason holds in purblind, deafish, and drunken Persons, who, having a weak Sense, sometimes seriously affirm they have seen or heard things, which no Man of a sound Sense believes. Whence *Plutarch*, speaking of the Spectre of *Dion*, in his Life, writes, Those who deny such things, say no *Dæmon* or Spectre has appear'd to any sound Man; but that Children, Women, and Persons delirous, through a Weakness of Body, when they are fallen into some Error of Mind, or bodily Distemper, have strange and absurd Opinions, that they superstitiously believe some evil *Dæmon* has possess'd them. But *Plutarch* tells us in the same place, That the *Genii* of *Dion* and *Brutus*, signified their Death to them. These were not Persons of mean Spirits, but great and grave Men, both knowing in Philosophy; who, nevertheless, were so moved by the Spectres, that they sollicitously told their Friends the things they had seen. It would be too long to relate all things which have been testify'd, by grave Men, of the *Gentiles*: You may read various Authors who have treated this Argument. These relate so many Facts testify'd by Men of a sound Sense, that to deny Faith to all of them, would be only for a Man who, being self-conscious of his own Folly, measures other Men by his Foot, and thinks there are no honest Men worthy of Credit to be found. We know the Opinion of Spectres held among the *Jews*; for *Matthew* 14. and *Mark* 6. we have the Relation of Christ's

walking on the Waters, and that the Disciples thought they saw a Spectre.

Nor did the *Gentiles* only gather from Spectres, that there were *Dæmons* and Spirits, but likewise from Oracles, which are otherwise called the Answers of the Gods; which were not only from the Frauds of Priests, since they predicted many things, which the Acuteness of Man's Wit could no way reach to. And this they did, to those who came to try the Oracles, subtle Men, and no way credulous. So that, tho' the Vulgar embraced all things, the more Wise did not believe all things; tho' they did many, which sufficiently appears from their Constancy in relating them. *Aristotle*, who did not believe *Dæmons*, or, at least, does not mention them, but when he speaks from the Opinion of others, ascribes Divinations to a melancholy Humour; saying, Those that abound with it, excel most in Understanding; because the Acrimony of black Choler contracts the Spirits, that they better perceive obscure and difficult Things. Nor do I deny this to have place in those whose Knowledge depends on the Senses; but the reason is differing, in those whose Knowledge draws its Origin from elsewhere. *Plutarch*, and others, chose rather to place that Cause in a Terrestrial Vapour received into a well-tempered Body, and stirring up the Mind of Man; and therefore they ascribe the failing of the Oracles, to the Earth's ceasing to emit that Vapour. But this seems trifling: for to grant that the Mind of Man may be stirred up by such Vapours; whence, I pray, will they make out they have any other Force, than to make Men deliver with more Subtilty and Eloquence the things they knew before; as Poets, when they have taken a free Glass of Wine, make better Verses? Wherefore, since *Aristotle* and *Plutarch*, Men of great Fame, could bring nothing better, I conclude we must by no means stop in inferiour Nature, but

rise

riſe to the ſuperiour Cauſes of Nature, ſuch as *Dæmons*: Which, therefore, *Porphyrius* and *Jamblicus* affirmed to be the Cauſes of Oracles.

Thoſe who are of another Opinion, ſay, That Oracles were contrived by the Frauds of Men: and this makes Oracles ſuſpected, that commonly they were ſo ambiguous, that they ſtood in need of another Oracle to be underſtood. But tho' ſome Oracles were contrived by the Impoſtors of Men, it does not follow, but ſome were by the Fraud of illuding *Dæmons:* And if they were ambiguous, it does not follow they were not Dæmoniacal; becauſe the *Dæmons* themſelves, being ignorant of future Contingents, built indeed on a ſubtle, but a fallacious Conjecture: wherefore there was need of obſcure and perplex'd Words, even for *Dæmons*, whereby the Oracles might be thought ill underſtood, if the Event did not anſwer. Nor is it enough, if you ſtop in the Subtilty of the Prieſts; becauſe many things were foretold, to which the Mind of Man could not reach, as may appear from what is remaining of the Oracles.

The *Gentiles* alſo gathered there were Spirits, or incorporeal Subſtances, from thoſe wonderful Works wrought by Magick, both *Theurgick*, or white Magick, and *Geotick*, or black Magick; both which are look'd upon by ſome to be Dæmoniacal, tho' others will have all Magick to be natural: and others, as *Petrus Aponenſis*, ſay it proceeds from a vehement Imagination, which troubles the Spirits and Vapours. *Petrus Pomponatius*, in his Treatiſe *de Incantationibus*, *L.* 4. ſays, thoſe ſtupendous things are done, not by the force of Inchantment, but of the Inchanters, and that through an occult Property of the Man. For as Stones and Herbs have wonderful Virtues, thro' the Influences of the Heavens, ſo, by the Influx of Heaven, one Perſon receives a Virtue before another of working wonderful Things: But the Caſe

of Plants and Stones is plainly differing, where the ſame Virtue agrees with the whole Species; but among Men, a few only do wonderful Things: Wherefore, ſince thoſe things exceed the Power of Men, they can be from none but a *Dæmon*.

They object, that nothing has been ſo much deſired by ſome, as to do wonderful things by a Commerce with *Dæmons*, but they could by no means attain it: whence they gather, that thoſe who are called Magicians, impoſe on People only by juggling Tricks. But the queſtion is not, whether the Senſes many times are impoſed on, but it ſuffices, that many things could not be done without a Compact with an evil Spirit. Nor does it matter, that many, who, with great Labour, have ſought this Commerce, could not attain it. For ſometimes God may not permit it, or the *Dæmon* may ſhun it; and commonly he applies to ſimple and credulous Perſons, as Women, and thoſe who are inſlav'd to their Paſſions, as to thoſe who burn with Luſt, or a deſire of Revenge, who are eaſily deluded and abuſed by them.

They gathered alſo there were *Dæmons*, from Oſtents, or things happening againſt Nature, and Prodigies, which very often are the Fore-runners of the Death of Men, or of great Changes, or Revolution of Kingdoms. This is owned even by *Machiavel*, who, *L.* 1. *Diſput. c.* 36. ſays, That great Changes are wont to be foretold in Towns and Provinces, and that by certain Signs, or to be denounced by the Preſages of Men. The ſame writes thus afterwards: 'Tho' I may freely confeſs myſelf ignorant of the Cauſe, yet I muſt own the thing itſelf to be ſo, both from Ancient and Modern Examples; and acknowledge, that all great Revolutions that have happened to ſome City or Country, have been wont to be foretold, or forewarned by Interpreters of Dreams, or by ſome Revelations, Prodigies, or Signs in the Heavens. Now, whence Prodigies and Celeſtial

leſtial Signs proceed, he cannot ſay, but by referring them to Spirits: for after he had profeſs'd himſelf ignorant of the Cauſe, he ſubjoins what follows; Unleſs haply we think fit to ſay with ſome Philoſophers, that the Air is full of Spirits and Intelligences; who, foreſeeing future things, and condoling human Calamities, forewarn Men of them, by theſe Signs, that they may be able ſeaſonably to prepare and fortify themſelves againſt them. Which things ſufficiently teach, that ſince he would not have recourſe to the ſupream Cauſe, he found none more proper, or meet, than Aerial Spirits.

I ſhall add one Paſſage here from the ſame Author, relating to the ſame Subject. It is in his Epiſtle to *Johan. Beverovicius*, concerning the *Pythoniſſa* of *Saul*, where he writes thus: As for thoſe who are of a contrary Opinion, they cannot perſuade themſelves that Spirits have any Commerce with Men; and I have often talk'd with ſuch Perſons, and have found them to have read the Scriptures very negligently, or however they might diſſemble, that they little ſet by the Authority of the Scripture. So far *Voſſius*. And this is confirmed by Mr. *Bayle*, who, in his *Dictionary*, under the word *Ruggeri*, ſays, there are Chriſtians Orthodox in all things elſe, but cannot perſuade themſelves that evil Angels are concerned in any thing, and reject, without exception, all that is ſaid of Magick and Witchcraft: if they contented themſelves to ſay, there is nothing but the Scripture can prove the Exiſtence and Operation of evil Spirits, we ſhould not wonder at their Opinion; for it's certain, that Reaſon furniſhes ſtrong Difficulties againſt the Empire of the Devil, founded on the Notion we have of God's Wiſdom and Goodneſs: but it's a very raſh Undertaking, not to ſay ſomewhat worſe, to go about to reconcile a Rejection of all the Power of the Devil with the Scripture.

Thus

Thus we ſee it's known, not only by Tradition, but by a fourfold Reaſon beſides, that there are Spirits.

And I think the learned *Voſſius* has here touch'd upon all the material Points relating to this Subject, and ſufficiently ſhewn, that it is not eaſy for any Man to ſet up any Hypotheſis but that of Spirits, tolerably to ſolve the Phænomena, or unqueſtionable hiſtorical Facts, which are alledged concerning theſe Matters; and I wonder the learned Dr. *Van Dale* ſhould conclude, that all that paſs'd in the Oracles, was by the Impoſtures of the Prieſts, when I find elſewhere, he is free to own other Things for true and real, and not to have been acted by Impoſture, which ſeem to me as ſtrange as any things which are ſaid to have paſs'd in the Oracles, and much of the ſame nature with them.

In his dedicatory Preface to his Diſſertations concerning the Origin and Progreſs of Idolatry and Superſtition, he gives us a Relation of a thing which paſſed at *Amſterdam*, *Anno* 1566. which Relation he takes from the Hiſtory of the Reformation, written by the Reverend *Gerrard Brantius*, and atteſted by unexceptionable Perſons. It is thus: A great part of thoſe Children who were maintained in the Hoſpital of Orphans, both Boys and Girls, and thoſe to the Number of ſixty or ſeventy, being obſeſs'd by evil Spirits, were not only ſorely troubled with various and great Torments, ſo that being afterwards reſtored to their Health, ſomewhat of the Evil remained with them throughout their whole Life; but alſo climbed up the Walls and tops of Houſes like Cats; caſt ſuch perverſe and helliſh Looks on Perſons, that they much daunted even the ſtouteſt Hearts: They ſpake ſtrange Languages, and with a hiſſing Tongue, diſcloſed many wonderful Things of what, at the moment they ſpake, was tranſacting in the Counſel-Houſe of the City: For it happened that one of

of these Boys said to *Katharine Gerrard*, one of the Mothers (as they call them) of the Hospital-Children, Your Son *John Nicholas* is going to the *Hague*, but he will do no good there: after which Words she leads this Boy with her, he being then a little freed from his Fits, to the Town-House, and at that moment in which the Counsel of the Town was broke up, her Son met her as she was going down the Stairs, whom she ask'd whether he were going to the *Hague*: he being surpriz'd, confess'd it. She added, this Boy here told it me; which being heard, the Thing was told the Bourrough-Masters; and that Resolution being now detected, the going to the *Hague* was omitted. And a little beneath he goes on thus:

And tho' these Boys were closely lock'd up in the Monastery of the *Paulinists*, yet they could break open those Gates that were lock'd, and ran out in Crowds, ten or twelve together, through the Streets, and went to the Mayor's House, and upbraided him with wonderful Things, and, as many say, for his cruel Mind to the Reformed; and it's said they discovered many secret Counsels which were in agitation against the new preaching of the Protestants.

Here Dr. *Van Dale* adds: I do not deny but what is here related really happened; but he will have these supernatural Things to have been wrought by these Children, by order of Divine Providence, and not by the being obsess'd by evil Spirits, as the Historian and all others affirmed it. But what will he say to the many other Visitations in this kind, which we have altogether as well attested as this: Will he have them all to be wrought by the Order of Providence, or by Imposture, without the Intervention of Spirits; or will he give us some other fair Hypothesis to solve them? His Resolution for one of these ways will be expected.

Mr.

Mr. *Fontenelle* wrote a Hiſtory of Oracles, backing Dr. *Van Dale*'s Opinion, maintaining, that evil Spirits were not concerned in the Oracles of the *Gentiles*; and Mr. *Fontenelle* in his third Chapter ſets forth, that one Reaſon why the Chriſtians held the Opinion of *Dæmons* being concerned in the Oracles, was, that they were fond of *Plato*'s Syſtem, who maintained the Opinion of *Dæmons*. To this, Father *Baltus*, a Dominican, who has writ two Volumes in *Octavo* againſt Mr. *Fontenelle*, in his firſt Volume, Part I. Chap. 15. and the following, makes this Reply: That, ſetting by the Opinion of *Plato*, there were three true Reaſons why the antient Chriſtians held *Dæmons* were concerned in the Oracles. The firſt of theſe Reaſons is the Authority of the Scripture, and here he gives an Inſtance in the Oracle of *Beelzebub*, which was at *Acharon*; and that *Ochozias*, King of *Iſrael* ſent to conſult him to know whether he ſhould recover of his Diſeaſe. But that which more ſtrongly perſuaded the antient Chriſtians to this Opinion, was, the perfect Conformity they obſerved there was betwixt the Oracles of the *Gentiles* and thoſe the idolatrous *Jews* conſulted; ſuch as Diviners, Magicians, and falſe Prophets, and particularly all the Men and Women that were poſſeſs'd with a Spirit called *Python*, of which it is ſo often ſpoken in the Scripture. They could not doubt but theſe Spirits were true *Dæmons*, ſince St. *Paul* drove away an evil Spirit from a Girl who was poſſeſs'd with it; and the Spirits of the Prieſts and Prieſteſſes of *Delphos* were of the ſame nature with that in this Girl. The Second Reaſon which confirmed the antient Chriſtians in this Sentiment, which they had learned from the Scripture, and which confirmed them after a way that they could not doubt a moment of it, was, That they themſelves drove away the *Dæmons* from the Oracles, and from the Perſons by whom they gave their Anſwers. That they obliged the evil Spirits that preſided in the Oracles

cles to own, in thePreſence of the *Pagans* themſelves, that they were evil ſeducing Spirits. That they forc'd them, by the Invocation of the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to quit the Prieſts and Prieſteſſes of the Idols, whom they had poſſeſs'd after the ſame manner that St. *Paul* drove away the Spirit *Python* by which that Girl, of whom it is ſpoken in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, deliver'd alſo Anſwers and Oracles: and they ſo certainly drove away theſe evil Spirits; they ſilenced them with ſo abſolute an Empire; they forced them ſo neceſſarily to own what they were, that they challenged the *Pagans* to make an Experiment, ſo far, as to offer themſelves to be put to death, if they did not drive them away, before their Eyes, and in their Preſence, and make them own their Impoſture. And here the Author cites many Paſſages from the antient Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, St. *Cyprian*, *Minutius Felix*, *Athanaſius*, *Arnobius*, &c. very full and expreſſive to this Effect, which I recommend to the peruſal of any Perſons that doubt of this Fact. Indeed the *Pagans* ſaid that this proceeded not from the Power and Authority the Chriſtians had over their Gods, but from the Horror and Hatred their Gods had for the Chriſtians and their Religion; but *Lactantius*, *L.* 4. *Inſt. Divin.* c. 27. ſays to this, As tho' any one could hate another, but him that either hurts him, or can hurt him; nay, it's more agreeing with Majeſty preſently to puniſh thoſe they hate, than to fly from them.

There was an Anonymous Perſon who publiſhed Remarks in Defence of what Mr. *Fontenelle* had advanced againſt evil Spirits having been concerned in the Oracles, and brought Arguments againſt Father *Baltus*'s Reaſons for ſuch Spirits having been concerned in them; to which Arguments Father *Baltus*, in his Second Volume, Part. I. c. 16, and the following, replies, That all the Fathers, not one excepted, have ſpoken of this Power which

the Christians had of driving away *Dæmons*, by the Invocation of the Name of *Jesus Christ*; and that there is not one of them but has given Instances of it, and used them as Proofs of the Divinity of Christ, and of the Truth of our Religion. That all the Faithful of the first Ages, were convinced of this, and that no Persuasion was more constant, more universal, and more authorized, than this; that there is not one of the antient *Pagans*, even of the most violent against the Christians, that has charged them of Imposture in this kind, and that has denied that they drove away *Dæmons*, as they confidently asserted in their Books; that when the *Pagans* gave for a Reason of their Oracles ceasing in the Presence of the Christians, that it was not from the Power the Christians had over their Gods, but from the Horror and Hatred their Gods had for the Christians and their Religion; they most clearly own the Fact in question. That *Celsus* himself was so far from denying this Power to the Christians, that he owns they really had it; but renewing the Calumny by which the *Jews* tried to deny the same divine Power which was in *Jesus Christ*, by saying that he drove away *Dæmons* but by *Beelzebub* the Prince of them; he said the same, that this Power of the Christians proceeded but from Inchantments, and the Invocations of *Dæmons*. On which *Origen* answer'd him, that this was a gross Put-off, and a manifest Calumny, since it's evident the Christians did not imploy either Magick or Inchantments to drive away *Dæmons*, but the sole Invocation of the Name of *Jesus Christ*, with a simple Recital of some of his Actions: And when *Celsus* and some other of the *Pagans*, ascribed to Magick the Power the Christians exercised over *Dæmons*, they did not deny that Power; on the contrary, it's evident that by what they said, they owned it at bottom, and agreed to it.

Upon

Upon the whole, I think the general Agreement of the Fathers in this Fact, of the Power the Chriſtians had over the *Dæmons* attending the Oracles, and elſewhere, is not fairly anſwerable; for to deny Faith to the Fathers in a thing ſo clearly and generally aſſerted by them, and not diſproved by their Enemies ſeems to me to be a high Violation of Humanity, they having been Perſons of Learning and Integrity; and all that is ſaid againſt them, is of too little Weight to counter-ballance ſuch a Teſtimony in an evident Matter of Fact.

The third Reaſon the Chriſtians had to believe *Dæmons* were the Authors of the Oracles, was, that the Oracles led Men to all ſorts of Crimes and deteſtable Infamies; whence they concluded, that the Oracles could not come but from theſe curſed Spirits, who ſeek but to deſtroy Men, and throw them head-long into all Deviations and Diſorders; they led Men to human Sacrifices, which could not be commanded but by *Dæmons*, or Men poſſeſs'd by them. So, they commanded the Practice of all monſtrous Luſts in their Temples, Games, and Feſtivals; the Oracles alſo led Men to Idolatry, Wars, Murders, Seditions, and cauſed infinite Deaths, and the entire Ruins of Kingdoms and Common-wealths.

Father *Baltus*, for a Concluſion to the firſt Part of his Anſwer to Mr. *Fontenelle's Hiſtory of Oracles*, addreſſes himſelf to him after this manner: Sir, I know not whether what has convinced theſe great Men, and with them all Chriſtian Antiquity, will ſuffice to perſuade you; however it may be, I pray you to examine theſe Reaſons by which they believ'd *Dæmons* were the Authors of the Oracles of *Paganiſm*, and to tell me afterwards, whether to be convinced, as they were, they could have more certain, or more convincing Proofs, than the Teſtimony of the Scripture, the Teſtimony of their Eyes

and Ears, and in short, that of the Oracles themselves.

I shall here add one Relation concerning these Matters, which seems to me to carry some Weight. *Origen*, in his seventh Book against *Celsus*, writes, that *Celsus* says, at the Temples of *Trophonius*, *Amphiaraus*, and *Mopsus*, their Gods were seen in human Shapes; and that not in a false Appearance, but manifestly conspicuous: to which *Origen* answers, not by denying the Fact, but saying, we know these to be *Dæmons*, and to be fed with the Blood and Steams of exhaling Victims, and that they are retained by these Baits in those Prisons, which the *Greeks* think to be the Temples of the Gods; but we have certainly found, that they are the Habitations of impostorous *Dæmons*. *Origen* adds; *Celsus*, after this, maliciously says, concerning the 'foresaid Gods presenting themselves in human Shape, that they did not pass by once, as Christ the Seducer did, but always familiarly discoursed with those that desired a Converse with them: By which Words he seems to intimate, that he accounted Christ for a Spectre when he was seen by his Disciples after his Resurrection, as tho' he had passed before their Eyes with a sudden Flight; but that those Gods to whom he ascribes a human Shape, denied not a personal Converse with any one who desired it. But could a Spectre (as he thinks) swiftly passing by, to deceive Men after an Illusion of their Eyes, operate so efficaciously, and convert the Souls of such Men, and persuade them to do all things according to the Will of God, who would call them to an account, in Judgment? How could such a Spectre make *Dæmons* fly, and perform other great Works, not keeping to one Place, as those Gods he speaks of in a human Shape, but passing through the whole habitable World, and gathering and drawing to him by his divine Power, as many as he finds inclinable to live well? So far

Origen.

Origen. Now, when *Celsus* says, the Gods commonly appear'd in a Human Shape, and freely conversed with any that desired it, did he lye in it? If so, certainly it was the highest Impudence or Folly in him, to offer this before so learned a Man as *Origen*; who, he must imagine, would well inform himself from many others of the learned *Gentiles*, concerning the Truth of this Fact.

There is one Crime that Father *Baltus* charges the Oracles of, beside those mentioned already, which also makes out, that *Dæmons* were concerned in the Oracles; *viz.* That Magical Practices appear in the way the Oracles were given, and in their Establishment.

In his first Volume, *Part* I. *c.* 15. he says, the ancient Christians did not doubt of this; they were persuaded it was as much by Magical Inchantments, as thro' their own Malice, that the *Dæmons* possess'd themselves of certain Places, and Persons, by which means they gave Answers. And if you consider what *Porphyrius*, *Jamblicus*, and *Eunapius* relate of these same Oracles, and what they teach concerning their detestable *Theurgia*, which was nothing but the Art of calling forth of *Dæmons*, and making them give Oracles; you will understand with the ancient Christians, that the Oracles were always accompany'd with Magick: and if the *Dæmons* were the Authors of Magick, they were the true Authors of the Oracles.

Again, Father *Baltus*, *Chap.* 20. writes thus: *Eusebius* shews that the Oracles taught Magick; and he proves it at large, by the Testimony of *Porphyrius*, and of the Oracles which he has produced to authorize his *Theurgick* Philosophy, to which the greatest Part of the Philosophers, of his time, were extreamly given, with himself. And here Father *Baltus* quotes a Passage from *Eusebius*, *Præp. Evang.* L. 5. C. 10. tho' in the Edition I have of his Works, which is that

that of *Basil*, in which the *Præp. Evang.* is translated by *Trapezuntius*, I find it is at the beginning of the seventh Chapter, where he writes thus: The Gods themselves, of the *Gentiles*, were the Inventors and Teachers of the Magick Art: For whence should Men learn, but from the *Dæmons* themselves, with what things they are compelled? So *Porphyrius* says, in his Book of Oracles, *Dæmons* have signified to Men, not only their fortunate Conversation, but likewise with what things they are delighted, and by what they may be understood; and moreover, by what things they may be compelled, and what things are to be offered to them, and what Days must be shunn'd, and of what kind the Figures of the Images ought to be, and in what Places they frequent; and there is nothing which has not been learned from the Gods themselves. So far *Eusebius*, from *Porphyry*. Now, here we find that the Managers of the Oracles were acquainted in the Magick Art, as the Philosophers of those Times generally were. And *Leonardus Lessius*, in his second Book *de Justitia & Jure*, plainly says, That all the *Platonicks*, he not excepting *Marcilius Ficinus*, either were Magicians, or Favourers of Magick. And indeed the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets were initiated in the same, as is easily seen in their Works. Nor, in truth, are their Works rightly to be understood in many places, (tho' they may be construed) without a Magical Key. And those secret Sciences were openly taught in *Spain* and *Italy*, till the Time of the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, who suppress'd their being publickly taught in Schools, for some politick Reasons; tho' they are still privately taught by a certain Body of Men, who are thought fit to be entrusted with them. I do not mean the invisible Body of the *Rosy-Crucians*, which much amused our Dr. *Flood*; but another Body, which may not improperly be called by the foregoing Name; they generally carrying about them a Rose (tho' unobserved

ſerved by many) as a Symbol of Silence; and are many of them crucified Chriſtians, as all who experimentally know what a Regeneration is, muſt be. As for the Society of *Roſy-Crucians*, which has made ſome Noiſe in the World, *Heideggerus*, in the Life he wrote of *Ludovicus Fabricius*, tells us, that his Father, who was born *Anno* 1575, and died *Anno* 1638, wrote a Book againſt the Brothers of the *Roſy Croſs*: the Author of which Sect was one *Jungius*, a Profeſſor of the Mathematicks at *Hamburg*; a Libertine, who, in his Cups, impudently and impiouſly conſpiring with his Companions, to amuſe the World with ſome ſpecious new Invention, printed and publiſhed to the World the Book entitled, *The Fame of the Roſy Croſs*. And *Ludovicus Fabricius* confirmed this, having it from the Mouth of the Secretary of *Heidelberg*, who was privy to this Impoſture.

This perhaps may be the *Jungius* mention'd in a Book written by Dr. *Garmannus*, intitled, *Oologia*; where, *pag.* 35. the *Doctor* tells us, it was told for certain to *Sebaſtian Jungius*, that a Dog which had devoured ſome Food, which a Country Woman had prepared for her Hens, to make them lay ſtore of Eggs, and larger than ordinary, as he followed his Maſter in a Journey, was ſeen by many Spectators to void many Eggs, one after the other, which made him very weak; but that Food being carry'd off, upon this Excretion, he was reſtored to his former Vigour. This Story might very well have been added to his Book of the *Roſy-Crucians*.

As I have intimated before, that the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, among the *Gentiles*, were initiated in the ſecret Sciences, and were not ignorant of a Regeneration, and the New Birth, (they calling the Viſitation in which theſe are manifeſted, *a Dreaming on Parnaſſus*, where all Myſteries are revealed to them) and the Method uſed to bring Men to them; ſo ſome of our Chriſtian Poets were knowing in the ſame.

And

And the ingenious Poet *Palingenius*, whose Name imports a Regeneration, in the tenth Book of his *Zodiacus Vitæ*, gives us a Process for bringing Men to a regenerate State, which he calls a Process for making the Philosopher's-Stone, for you must know these two commonly go together: Which Process the Philosophers obtained, addressing themselves to *Sol*, *Luna*, and *Mercury*, begging them to teach them some easy way whereby they might have an honest Support, and not be exposed to the Contempt of the Vulgar. And as the reading of this Book was prohibited by the Council of *Trent*, possibly it may be, because this grand Secret is divulged in it. However, to gratify the Chymists, and others who may make a good Use of it, I shall give you here the Process, dictated by *Phœbus*, as follows.

Hunc juvenem Arcadium, infidum, nimiumq; fugacem,
Prendite, & immersum stygiis occidite lymphis.
Mox Hyales gremio impositum, Deus excipiat quem
Lemnia terra colit, sublatumq; in cruce figat.
Tunc sepelite utero in calido & dissolvite putrem;
Cujus stillantes Artus de Corpore nostro,
Spiritus egredius penetrabit, & ordine miro,
Paulatim extinctum nigris revocabit ab umbris
Auratâ indutum chlamyde, argentóq; nitentem.
Projicite hunc demum in prunos, renovabitur alter
Ut Phœnix, & quæ tangit perfecta relinquet
Corpora, Naturæ leges & fœdera vincens:
Mutabit Species paupertatemq; fugabit.

Take this Arcadian, *flitting, treacherous Boy,*
And, dipp'd in Stygian *Waters, him destroy.*
Then set on Hyale's *Lap, let* Lemnos *God*
Take him to him, and crucify the Lad.
Then, in a warm Womb plac'd, his Taint dissolve,
Whose dropping Limbs a Spirit shall devolve
From me, and penetrate; and strangely so,

Dead

Dead by degrees, ſhall bring to life a-new,
All clad in Robes of gold and ſilver Hue.
Caſt him again on hot Coals, Proteus *like,*
He'll be renew'd, and all he touches make
Moſt perfect: Nature's Laws and Powers excell;
Species he'll change, and Poverty repell.

I have formerly deſired many learned Men, as occaſion preſented, to explain the Meaning of theſe Verſes to me; but could never be gratify'd in it, till ſome Perſon, who keeps himſelf conceal'd, and will not vouchſafe to be known to me, gave me ſome Intimation of it in ſome ſecret way.

In what I have intimated before, that there is a Body of Men, a ſelect Number of whom apply themſelves to ſome ſecret Sciences for the end mention'd; it is not ſaid by rote by me: for an intimate Acquaintance of mine, on whoſe Veracity I can rely, has aſſured me more than once, that he has been invited to be of that Society, who would freely communicate all their ways of proceedings to him, and let him make his choice to live in what Part of *Europe* he pleas'd, and have all things allowed him to his deſire, if he would join with them. But, tho' he would willingly have been let into the whole Myſtery, which muſt be a great Satisfaction, and perhaps the greateſt Scene this World affords, and highly deſirable by any Man; yet he could not prevail with himſelf to comply with ſome Conditions propos'd to him, and did not proceed. And, as by what he has practically known in their Proceedings, he finds it's a two-edg'd Sword they manage, which will cut both ways, and may be well or ill applied: He wiſhes them well in making a good Uſe of it, and that they would well conſider the Subjects they work upon; for certainly here, if any where, Men ought thoroughly to conſider, *Quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recuſent.* And I doubt not but many periſh under

that Operation, as *Eustachius* tells us, that *Circe*'s Potions destroy those whom the Muses do not favour; according to which, *Theocritus* concludes his ninth *Idyllium*, thus:

Those, whom the Muses favour, stand a Proof,
'Gainst Circe's *Potions, and the Power of Love.*

Plutarch, in his Book concerning the virtuous Acts of Women, tells us the following Story: There was a time when the *Milesian* Virgins fell into a strange Raving, and a terrible Humour, without any apparent Cause; only it was conjectured it must be some poisonous Quality of the Air, which caused this Alienation of Mind. They were all on a sudden seized with a desire of dying, and a furious Humour of hanging themselves, and many did it secretly; and no Remonstrances, nor Tears of Parents, no Consolation of Friends, could any way prevail with them: for they found ways of destroying themselves in despite of all those who narrowly watch'd them. So that, at length, it was thought a Punishment sent by God, and that no humane means could remedy it, 'till, by the Advice of a prudent Citizen, an Edict was published, That if any one hanged herself for the future, her Body should be exposed naked in the publick Market-place, which clearly put a stop to this Humour. Whence *Plutarch* concludes, it's a great sign of a good and virtuous Nature, to shew such a fear of Infamy and Dishonour, that those, who neither dreaded Death, or Pain, could not bear the Imagination of a Shame and Disgrace, which could not affect them but after their Death. So far *Plutarch*. *Servius*, on the second Book of *Virgil*'s *Georgicks*, tells us, that the same Frenzy once happened to the Virgins at *Athens*.

Now, as for this seemingly unaccountable Disease, I doubt not but the Managers of the secret Arts I have mentioned, knew well enough what it was, and possibly an Over-dose of their Physick may have

have gone a great way towards promoting it. And I could wish no more Instances, even in latter Ages, were to be found of that kind. It appears, by the form of putting a stop to that Disease before-mentioned, it was a mental Disease, no bodily Contagion, or poisonous Air, which could not have been stopp'd that way. We know *Regimen animorum est ars artium*; but there is a great Nicety in it.

Mite hominum ingenium flecti ducique per artes
Non rigidas, docta mobilitate decet.
Youth's tender Minds should be wrought on, and led
By gentle Arts, not roughly managed.

To return to *Virgil*. As I have affirmed the Birth celebrated by *Virgil* to be the inward Birth, I may take notice, we find three ways for bringing Men to this regenerate State. The first is, by the immediate Call or Visitation of God, as it happened to Saint *Paul*. The second, by the common training of Church Discipline. The third, by a Means more than ordinary used to bring the Mind of Man to be delivered of this Birth. And this was the way generally used by the *Gentiles* for this end, the Managers of this Work having a regard to that Saying of the Poet,

Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.
This is the long Line which great Fishers use,
When muddy Streams lie wide, and Fish refuse
The Bait thrown near the Shore———

Nor do I wonder at this Proceeding among the *Gentiles*; for indeed they had no genuine training, as there is among Christians, for bringing Persons otherwise to a regenerate State, which they look'd on as the most perfect and consummate State a Man can arrive at in this Life, and consequently for the great Benefit of Mankind.

It seems strange, that even among the *Americans*, there is found a Discipline carrying some Analogy to those used by us for bringing Men to a regenerate

State, by mortifying the luxuriant Spirit of Man: So that he shall be set on a new foot for guiding his Actions during the remainder of his Life. And since I conceive it may be grateful to those who are not vers'd in History, and may not have heard Relations of this nature, I shall give here some Instances of it.

Mr. *Lawson*, in his Account of the *Indians* of *North-Carolina*, tells us, they have an odd Custom among them called *Huſquenawing* their young Men, in which they proceed thus. Most commonly, once a Year, or at least once in two Years, these People take as many of their young Men, as they think are able to undergo this Practice, which, they say, is to make them obedient and respectful to their Superiours, and is the same to them as it is to send our Children to School, to be taught good Breeding and Letters. The House appointed for it, is a large strong Cabin, made on purpose for the Reception of the young Men and Boys that have not passed this Initiation, and it is always at *Christmas* that this is done. The Youths are then brought into this House, and kept there in the Dark during the Transaction, where they more than half starve them. Beside, they give them Pellitory-Bark, and several intoxicating Plants, that make them go as raving mad, as any People ever were; and you may hear them make the most dismal and hellish Cries and Howlings that ever Human Creatures expres'd. All which continues about five or six Weeks, and the little Meat they eat, is the nastiest, loathsome Stuff, and mix'd with all manner of Filth it's possible to get. After the time is expired, they are brought out of their Cabin, which is never in the Town, but always at a distance off, and guarded by a Jaylor or two, who watch by turns. When they first come out of the House, they are as poor as possibly may be, and several die under this diabolical Purgation. Moreover, they either

either really are, or pretend to be dumb, and do not ſpeak for ſeveral days ; Mr. *Lawſon* thinks, twenty, or thirty : and look ſo ghaſtly, and are ſo changed, that it's in a manner impoſſible to know them again, tho' you were never ſo well acquainted with them before. He would fain have gone into the Houſe of Confinement, to have ſeen them in their time of Purgation ; but the King would not ſuffer it, telling him, they would do him, or any other white Man a miſchief that ventured in among them, which made him deſiſt. They deal after the ſame manner with the Girls, as with the Boys ; and theſe young People are very much afraid of it, many of them running away at the time to avoid it. The Savages ſay, if it were not for this, they could never keep their Youth in Subjection ; beſide that, it hardens them to the Fatigues, and all manner of Hardſhips, which their way of living expoſes them to ; that it carries off all infirm Bodies that would have been only a Burthen and Diſgrace to their Nation, and ſaves the Victuals and Cloathing for better People, that would have been expended on ſuch uſeleſs Creatures.

After Mr. *Lawſon* has given us this Account, he obſerves that very few give us Accounts of theſe Savages as they ought ; which happens, becauſe thoſe, who write Hiſtories of this new World, are ſuch as Intereſt, Preferment and Merchandize draw thither, and know no more of that People, than they do of the *Laplanders*, which is only by Hearſay.

Mr. *Beverly*, in his *Hiſtory of Virginia*, gives us like account of this *Huſquenawing* Practice in uſe there, as follows.

The Solemnity of *Huſquenawing* is commonly practiſed there every fourteen or ſixteen Years, or oftener, as their Young Men happen to grow up. It is an Inſtitution, or Diſcipline, that all young Men muſt paſs, before they can be admitted of the number of the

the great *Men*, or *Cockarouses* (as they call them) of the Nation. The whole Ceremony is performed after the following manner.

The choicest, and briskest young Men of the Town, and such only as have acquired some Treasure in their Travels and Hunting, are chosen out by their Rulers to be *Husquenaw'd*; and whoever refuses to undergo this Process, dares not remain among them. They carry them into the Woods, and there keep them under Confinement, and destitute of all Society, for several Months, giving them no other Sustenance but the Infusion or Decoction of some poisonous intoxicating Roots, by virtue of which Physick, and by the Severity of the Discipline they undergo, they become stark staring mad; in which raving Condition they are kept eighteen or twenty Days. During these Extremities, they are shut up Night and Day in a strong Inclosure, made on purpose, one of which he saw belonging to the *Paumaunkie Indians*, in the Year 1694. It was in the Shape of a Sugar-Loaf, and every way open like a Lettice for the Air to pass through, of which he has given a Cut, *Tab.* 4. *fig.* 31. In this Cage thirteen young Men had been *Husquenaw'd*, and had not been a Month set at liberty, when he saw it. Upon this Occasion it is pretended, that these poor Creatures drink so much of that Water of *Lethe*, that they perfectly loose their Remembrance of all former things, even of their Parents, their Treasure, and their Language. When the Doctors find they have drank sufficiently of the *Wysoccan*, so they call this mad Potion, they gradually restore them to their Senses again, by lessening the Intoxication of their Diet. But before they are perfectly well, they bring them back into their Towns, while they are still wild and crasy through the Violence of the Medicine. After this, they are very fearful of discovering any thing of their former Remembrance; for if such a thing should

ſhould happen to any of them, they immediately muſt be *Huſquenaw'd* again. Now whether this be real or counterfeit, I do not know, *ſays he*; but certain it is, they will not for ſome time take notice of any body, nor any thing with which they were before acquainted, being ſtill under the Guard of their Keepers, who conſtantly wait upon them every where 'till they have learned all things perfectly over again: And thus they unlive their former Lives, and commence Men by forgetting they ever were Boys.

I can account no other way, *ſays he*, for the great Pains and Secrecy of the Keepers during the whole Proceſs of this Diſcipline, but by aſſuring you it is the moſt meritorious thing in the World to diſcharge that Truſt well, in order to their Preferment to the greateſt Poſts of the Nation, which they claim as their undoubted Right in the next Promotion. And on the other hand, they are ſure of a Paſſport into the other World, if they ſhould by their Levity, or Neglect, ſhew themſelves in the leaſt unfaithful.

Thoſe whom I ever have ſeen, *ſays he*, to be *Huſquenaw'd*, were lively, handſome, well-timber'd young Men, from fifteen to twenty Years of Age, or upwards, and ſuch as were generally reputed rich.

I confeſs, *ſays he*, I thought it at firſt ſight to be only an Invention of the Seniors to ingroſs the young Mens Riches to themſelves; for after ſuffering this Operation, they never pretended to call to mind any thing of their former Proſperity, but their Goods were either ſhared among the old Men, or brought to ſome publick Uſe, and ſo thoſe Youngſters were obliged to begin the World a-new.

But the *Indians* deteſt this Opinion, and pretend that this violent Method of taking away the Memory, is, to releaſe the Youth of all their childiſh Impreſſions; and from that ſtrong Partiality to Perſons and Things, which is contracted before Reaſon comes to take place, they hope by this proceeding to

root

root out all the Prepoſſeſſions and unreaſonable Prejudices which are fix'd in the Minds of Children; ſo that, when the young Men come to themſelves again, their Reaſon may act freely without being byaſs'd by the Cheats of Cuſtom and Education. Thus alſo they become diſcharged from the Remembrance of any Tyes of Blood, and are eſtabliſhed in a State of Equality and perfect Freedom to order their Actions, and diſpoſe of their Perſons as they think fit, without any other Controul than that of the Law of Nature. By this means alſo they become qualified, when they have any publick Office, equally and impartially to adminiſter Juſtice, without having reſpect either to Friend or Relation. So far Mr. *Beverly*.

Mr. *Purchas*, in the fourth Part of his *Pilgrimage*, L. 1. *c.* 6. gives us ſome farther Account relating to this Practice in *Virginia*, to whom, for brevity ſake, I refer the Reader.

Garciliſſa de la Vega, in his Hiſtory of the *Yncas of Peru*, L. 6. c. 24. gives a Relation of a Practice ſomewhat like the foregoing, where he writes of the Ceremonies obſerved in conferring Knighthood on the young *Yncas*, which Honour rendred them capable of all Imployments, both Military and Civil, and without which they were not allow'd capable of either. I refer you likewiſe to the Author.

I have given you the foregoing Inſtances of the Practices uſed by the *Americans* for ſubduing the luxuriant Spirit of Man, and bringing it to a new State, which, as it carries ſome remote Reſemblance to the Work of Regeneration, ſo it ſeems to have no ſmall Agreement with what has been practiſed among the *Gentiles* in the other parts of the World; who, in the Rites they uſed in their Expiations, and myſtical Regenerations, pretended, as the *Americans* did, to ſet the Mind of Man on a new foot, after its being purged and cleared of the vicious Habits contracted by it, through evil Impreſſions and Prepoſſeſſions,

poſſeſſions, which Man is ſubject to from his Infancy. No one could be initiated in the ſacred Myſteries of *Mithres*, among the *Perſians*, 'till he had undergone all kinds of Chaſtiſements, of which there were eighty Degrees, ſome more remiſs, others more ſevere: for they began with the more mild, and ſo proceeded to the others. For inſtance, they muſt ſwim for many days over large Extents of Waters; then caſt themſelves into the Fire, afterward live in a Solitude, and undergo long Faſtings, and other the like Diſciplines. When they had thus given a Proof of their Sanctity, and Fortitude of Mind, and of their being ſuperior to their Paſſions, in patiently bearing and abiding all thoſe Torments, if they ſurvived them, they were then at laſt initiated in the ſecret Myſteries of *Mithres*. But I muſt here tell you, that a magical Operation works a greater Mortification, and brings the Mind of Man to a greater Purity than all theſe Severities; which Truth, perhaps, nothing but Experience may convince ſome Men of.

I hope, in what I have here written, I have explained ſome Things of Antiquity more clearly than others may have done. It was what I had in view when I ſet upon this Compoſure. If ſome Men do not value Studies of this nature, others perhaps may: And indeed I do not know what may deſerve a Man's Inquiry, if theſe things do not. Men's Imaginations are whirl'd about by various Impulſes, ſome one way, and ſome another, and their Thoughts are variouſly directed, according to the various Impreſſions their Minds may have received.

Reſenius, in his Preface to the *Edda Iſlandorum*, tells us, *Ottinus*, the Hero or God of the Northern People, was often ſeen to appear in the Form of an old Man, who had but one Eye. The Reaſon of which the *Edda* tells us, was, that *Ottinus* came one day to *Mimerus*, who had the Fountain of Wiſdom in his poſ-

ſeſſion, and deſired that he might have a Draught of it; which not obtaining, he pawn'd one of his Eyes for it. Whereupon Freedom being given him, as ſoon as he had drank, he found himſelf adorned with an eminent Underſtanding and Wiſdom. *Ottinus* having therefore pawn'd one of his Eyes, which perhaps he never received again, it's no wonder if he often appeared having but one Eye.

Now this Fable, I conceive, may be thus explained; That a Man has two Eyes, one of *Faith*, and another of *Reaſon*; and that the latter muſt be laid by, for him to drink of the Fountain of Wiſdom with the Eye of *Faith* alone.

Callimachus, in his *Hymn* on the Birth of *Pallas*, tells us, that *Tireſias*, having ſeen her there naked, was wholly deprived of his Eye-ſight; and that *Pallas*, being moved by the Tears of *Chariclo*, the Mother of *Tireſias*, who ſorely complain'd of it, and for whom ſhe had a great kindneſs, told her, That ſhe had not cauſed her Son to loſe his Sight, but that it was a Judgment had paſſed according to the Laws of *Saturn*, that if any Man ſhould behold any of the immortal Gods, without their leave, he ſhould receive a ſevere Puniſhment; which Decree was irrevocable, ſince the Deſtinies had ordered it ſo at her Son's Birth: but that ſhe would make him an ample amends for his Loſs, ſhe would endow him with the Spirit of Prophecy beyond all others; give him a noble Staff to guide him in his way: grant him a long term of Life; and, when he died, he ſhould be honourably entertained by *Pluto*, in the ſubterraneous Regions, and paſs up and down among the Dead as the ſole wiſe Man. Now, I conceive, the genuine Explication of this Fable to be thus: Whoever has ſeen the Goddeſs of Wiſdom naked, or without her Veil, muſt loſe his Eye-ſight, as *Homer*, as well as *Tireſias*, is ſaid to have done: for after ſuch a Sight, the Eye of Man's Underſtanding is otherwiſe directed than according

to

to common Senſations, they are become introverted, are paſt into the inviſible World, and have a free Communication in *Hades*, or the *Elyſian-Fields* :

Solemque ſuum, ſua Sydera norunt.

They have the Gift of Prophecy; they have a Staff to guide them in their way; are long-liv'd as the *Sybil*, length of Life being calculated, not by the number of Years, but by extent of Knowledge, as to things paſt, preſent, and to come: And I am inclined to think, that Men qualified according to this Explication, may take ſome Guſt in what I have written in this Book.

NOTES
CONCERNING
GENII,
OR
FAMILIAR SPIRITS.

HAVING ſome Years ſince publiſhed a Book of *Genii*, or *Familiar Spirits*, I ſhall here give you a few ſhort Notes relating to them.

Lomeierus, in his Book, *De Veterum Gentilum Luſtrationibus*, c. 11. where he writes of viſible Appearances of the Gods of the *Gentiles*, ſets down a Paſſage we have in *Heliodorus*, *Æth.* l. 3. where *Calaſiris* tells *Cnemon*, that he had ſeen *Apollo* and *Diana*, not in a Dream, but really; and adds, The Gods and Deities, *Cnemon*, as they come to us, and go from us, transform themſelves, for the moſt part, into a human Shape; but very rarely into that of other Animals. And tho' they are not ſeen by the Prophane, they cannot eſcape being known by the Wiſe: for they may be diſcerned by their Eyes, they having always a ſtedfaſt Look, and never cloſing their Eye-lids. And they

are

are much more known by their Motion, which is, not by ſetting one Foot before the other, but by a certain aerial *Impetus*, readily cleaving the Air, rather than by a walking through it. Wherefore the *Egyptians* make the Statues of their Gods with their Feet join'd together, and as it were united. Which things alſo *Homer* knowing, as being an *Egyptian*, and inſtructed in their ſecret Learning, has intimated after an occult and intricate manner, leaving them to be underſtood by thoſe that can underſtand them. So he ſays of *Pallas*,

Atque truces oculi fulſere tuenti:

And of *Neptune*,

Namque pedum crurumque ſimul veſtigia pone
Perfacile agnovi, remeante auraſque ſecante.

The Words *perfacile remeante* importing a flowing Paſſage: from this ſort of paſſing, the Gods are ſaid by the *Greeks* to ſlide along. *Theocritus*, Idyll. 27. writes,

Immortales vero vocantur Dii ſine pedum uſu facti.

From ſuch a Paſſage *Æneas* knew his Mother going from him, *Virg.* 1. *Æneid. v.* 400. & 5 *Æneid.* 647, 648, 649.

Et vera inceſſu patuit Dea.

viz. As carried on by a light Wind, as a ſmall Veſſel, or as ſliding away by a ſlippery Motion, as on Ice. Nor have ſuch Appearances of the Gods been accounted vain, but efficacious, and carrying with them ſome ſalutiferous Aid, as being wont to portend, either Health to the Sick, or Comfort to the Afflicted,

or

or Aid to thoſe that labour under any Difficulties. So far *Lomeierus*.

I have noted this Paſſage of *Heliodorus*, with the Additions of *Lomeierus*, becauſe I think the Tradition of this Fact well deſerves to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, it being a faithful Account of the manner after which *Genii*, or Familiar Spirits, appear to thoſe who ſee them, when other Perſons preſent ſee no ſuch thing. And as I have averr'd my own Experience in this kind, I muſt declare, that as often as thoſe *Genii* have appear'd to me, it has always been with that ſwimming Motion through the Air, and not ſetting one Foot before the other, as uſual with Men, when they paſs from one place to another. I know many Perſons laugh at all Apparitions; and it's not for thoſe I record theſe things, but for thoſe to whom ſuch *Genii* may appear; who, as they will be much ſurprized at the firſt Sight of them, I know will be glad to find that others have had the like Experiences, and to be inſtructed in the manner of their Appearance, and in what they may portend.

I ſhall farther here obſerve to you, that whenever ſuch *Genii* have appeared to me, I have always look'd on my ſelf to have been, for that time, in an extatick State of Mind; and conclude, that moſt Perſons, who ſee Apparitions, unſeen by others, preſent with them, are in ſuch a ſtate, tho' many times unobſerv'd by themſelves; the various Diſpoſitions of Mens Minds not being to be underſtood without a good ſhare of philoſophical Learning, and much Application uſed. In this extatick ſtate of Mind, Men are ſaid to dream waking; and the antient Poets call'd this a dreaming on *Parnaſſus*, in which Dream their Minds were opened, and they were led into Knowledges incommunicable to others in a common ſtate. And as common Dreams, according to what many Perſons may obſerve in themſelves, often carry in them a prophetick Energy, ſo that what they dream comes to paſs; ſo it's no wonder,

der, if in this extatick State of Dreaming (during which the Aſtral Impulſes are incomparably ſtronger than in common Dreams, or in the ordinary Courſe of Life) that prophetick Energy more efficaciouſly exerts itſelf, ſo that Perſons then, both ſleeping and waking, ſurprizingly ſee, foreſee, and predict what the Mind of Man in a common ſtate cannot bear to. And I doubt not but the true Prophets were in theſe extatick Dreams when they propheſied: But as their Minds were purified by a due prophetick training, their divining Impulſes always directed them to deliver wholeſome Truths. Whereas others, who either by ſome ſevere Circumſtances of human Life, or by being magically wrought on by ſome villanous Abuſers of that Art, are brought into this extatick State without a due training, ſo that they have not paſs'd a purgative Life, but have their Minds ſtrongly poſſeſt with Paſſions and vicious Habits: Theſe Perſons, I ſay, tho' their ſtrong Impulſes may now and then direct them to deliver uſeful Truths, yet they more often deliver vain Falſhoods, and many times are led away by deplorable Deluſions; as we may ſee in thoſe Wretches who are accuſed of Witchcraft, and who commonly confeſs things as really tranſacted, which only paſs in them in theſe extatick Dreams, and who for want of Judges knowing in this myſterious State of Mind, have been barbarouſly proſecuted and murthered, even to the Ridicule of Mankind; ſince Men may be as well executed for falling into a Fit of an Epilepſy, the other being as involuntary, and as much out of the Perſon's power to avoid.

I may here alſo acquaint you, that this Extatical Diſpoſition of Mind is many times contagious, according to the Diſpoſitions of Perſons who may be with ſuch as are in it. This is manifeſt in the Viſitation which happen'd ſome Years ſince in *New England*, where one Perſon happening to have the Spe&ter Sight, it became in a ſhort time ſo general, that two hundred were

were accuſed of Witchcraft, and about twenty executed; the like having happen'd in many other Countries. Indeed all Perſons are not infected with this extatick Contagion, tho' much uſing with thoſe that are in thoſe waking Extaſies, but only ſuch as are diſpoſed for it, as it happens in contagious Diſeaſes. The late Mr. *Emes*, famous for his Aſſurance of his Reſurrection, when he went among the Prophets firſt, little thought of his becoming one; but had not been long with them, when he found himſelf ſeiz'd with the ſame Spirit: and I have been preſent when, upon a young Woman's falling into a Convulſion Fit, to which ſhe was much ſubject, preſently another young Woman, who chanced to be preſent, and who never had a Fit, nor ſeen any one in a Fit, fell into the like Fit, after a more ſevere manner than the other.

I ſhall farther give you here my Thoughts concerning thoſe People in *Scotland*, who are ſaid to have the Gift of the *Second-Sight* by Inheritance from Father to Son; and it is my Opinion, that thoſe who firſt had this Gift by Deſcent, were begotten when one of their Parents were in an extatick State: and I recommend this Notion to a farther Conſideration. I know ſome of the Ancients tell us what Methods have been uſed to bring Men to a Converſe with *Genii*; but I ſhall not enlarge upon this here: and I hope and believe the Explication I have given of theſe Matters, may, and will prove of good uſe to ſome Perſons, who may not eaſily find the like in their common Reading.

As for thoſe who laugh at all Apparitions, as only imaginary, I ſhall give them two or three Inſtances, and leave them to their Conſideration.

The learned *Nicholaus Selneccerus*, in *Analect. l. 4. b.* writes thus: It's true that many Spirits walk about, and are often ſeen; and we do not only read of Inſtances, but I my ſelf have known Inſtances, and

both seen and heard Specters; concerning which the *Gentiles* said,

Sunt aliquid Manes, Lethum non omnia finit.

Melanchon, *L. de Animâ*, tells us, he had seen Specters, and knew many Men worthy of Credit, who affirm'd they had both seen, and discoursed with them.

Campanella, *L.* 4. *de Sensu Rerum*, writes thus: *Plotinus* and *Porphyrius* say there are Angels both good and bad, as daily Experience teaches, and my self also have found by manifest Experience, not when I earnestly endeavour'd it, but when I was minding another thing; and therefore it's no wonder if they did not appear to curious *Nero*. The same Author in the same Work, *L.* 2. *c.* 25. tells us, he knew many other Persons, who from Disbelievers, became afterwards convinc'd of the Reality of such Apparitions by their Sight, and a Converse with them. The same Author again, *Met. p.* 2. *c.* 6. *Art.* 3 writes thus: We know there are both good and evil Spirits, from Persons being tormented by the latter, and visited by the former; and my self, when I was upon a long Enquiry after them, found nothing of them, but only when I thought not of them. Therefore let *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, and their Followers be silent; for, it's most certain there are *Dæmons* in the World, and it's a foolish thing, not to say impious, to deny it: for there are many of the best of Men, and of the most learned, who certify this from their own Experience, Men not Deceived nor Deceivers: And I know this now my self, and am not led by the Credulity of others. So far *Campanella*; and here you may read much more for confirming this Truth. See also the same Author, *Met. p.* 3. *l.* 12. *c.* 2. where he proves the Existence of Angels and *Dæmons*, by Reason, Experiences, Witnesses,

neſſes, Authorities, and the Conſent of all Nations.

Now if any Man ſhall confidently tell me that theſe are all Illuſions, as many are apt to do, and laugh at ſuch Experiences; when I am convinc'd that theſe Laughers are Men of more Learning and Candor than the foregoing Teſtimonies, I may conſider farther of it: Mean while, I hope they will give me leave to have ſuch Regard for their negative againſt three good poſitive Evidences, as a Court of Judicature is commonly wont to have.

I know it's made a Queſtion by ſome, whether Specters are aerial Images having a real Exiſtence, or only imaginary Appearances and the Fancies of melancholick and weak Perſons, who fancy they ſee Specters, when there is nothing real. But to grant there are ſometimes ſuch Fancies, muſt all Apparitions be ſo? In my Book of *Genii*, or *Familiar Spirits*, C. 4. I have given a Relation of ſome Women condemned for Witchcraft, at *Chelmsford*, in *Eſſex*, *Anno* 1645. one of whom, whoſe Name was *Elizabeth Clark*, ſaid more than once to the Company preſent with her in the Night-Time, that ſhe would call her *Imps* for them to ſee them; and ſhe did call for ſeven or eight *Imps* by their ſeveral Names; and all the Perſons preſent, to the number of Eight, ſaw them appear in the ſhapes of Dogs and Cats, *&c.* and this they depoſed on Oath before a Magiſtrate.

Now I would ask any Man, whether he looks on theſe *Imps* only as the melancholy Fancies of this Woman: Indeed ſome who maintain that all Apparitions are only imaginary, tell us that the imaginative Species in the Mind can form the Air into the ſame Likeneſs; wherefore they think it in the power of melancholick Perſons to form Specters in the Air; and *Helmont de Ortu Med. Tit. de injectis Mater.* ſays, The Power of the Imagination is ſo great, that it's able to produce ſome real external Things; which being produced by the imaginative Power as

it's join'd with the *Archæus*, constitutes a sort of shadowing Apparition, which walks about, and has a proper Substance.

Now if this Doctrine could hold, it might account for the aforementioned things; but others are of opinion this Doctrine cannot hold according to sound Philosophy, *viz.* That the imaginative Faculty in Man has so great a Power, that of it self, it can produce some real Effect, either within or out of the Body of the Person who imagines. I say of itself, because the imaginative Faculty of itself produces no Effect, but by Accident and indirectly, as it changes the Body of the Person, or that of the Embryo within it, by stirring up the Appetite, and this the removing Faculty, which moves the Spirits and Humours; but it produces no Effect on an external Body, there being no assignable Vehicle, Way, or Medium for it to perform it by. If therefore there are Apparitions which have a real Subsistence, they must be explained some other way, which will be hard to do but by the Hypothesis of Spirits. There is this to be said for a real Subsistence of some Specters, *viz.* That they are seen by all Persons present, as the Imps before-mentioned, and not only by some particular Person, who may say, he sees them, when others do not. Secondly, that they are perceived not only by the Sight, but likewise by the Touch; as some have been struck by them, when others have been present. Thirdly, they have sometimes carried away, or removed things from one place to another, and given other Marks of some real and understanding Agents. If we find it difficult to account for what Experience evinces of the Beings and Operations of Spirits, you may consider what *Campanella* writes concerning it, *Met. p. 3. L. 12. C 3. Art. 3.* the Head of which Article is thus: That the way is unknown to us by which an Angel adapts a Body to himself; yet it is most true, that he appears

and

and operates in a Body, and Experience muſt not be deny'd for an Opinion. In the Article itſelf he freely owns, that theſe things cannot be underſtood, nor does he find them well explained by any Divines; yet he ſays they ought to be believed, tho' the Way is unknown to us: for the Art of the Superior Intelligences is not perceived by the Inferiors; as the *Americans* thought it impoſſible that a Paper ſhould convey Thoughts, and that Clocks ſhould tell the Hours of the Day, by a ſpontaneous Sound, which things are obvious to us.

Mr. *Saurin*, in his Defence of the Doctrine of the Reformed Church, concerning the Principle of Faith, has a material Paſſage relating to the foregoing Subject, *c.* 27. *p.* 329. where he writes thus: Mr. *Witſius* proves by many Examples, that the inward Inſtructions of God's Spirit go in ſome Subjects to a Revelation of particular Events; which is contradicted by ſome Divines: and tho' I make not myſelf a Party for Mr. *Witſius*, or thoſe Divines, I think Mr. *Witſius*'s Opinion the more probable; and it's certain, that thoſe who are for the Negative, cannot maintain it but two Ways: Firſt, in ſhewing the Characters of Falſhood, in ſome of the particular Relations, on which the Affirmative is eſtabliſhed. Secondly, in ſaying that if a Man be not ſure, that theſe Relations are falſe, he is no more ſure that they are true. It is not neceſſary, he ſays, to advertiſe, that he does not ſpeak here of the Examples given in the Old and New Teſtaments: The ſame Reſtrictions are made in the famous Controverſy betwixt the *Eſprits Forts* and *Foibles* concerning Apparitions, the Operations of the Devil, and the Enterprizes of Witches and Magicians. Wiſe and pious Men, who are neither of the *Eſprits Forts* nor *Foibles*, in that evil Senſe which is commonly given to this Title, believe, by a divine Faith, the Truth of the Hiſtories contain'd in the Word of God; but they judge

judge after a differing manner concerning common Relations, which are the Subject of the People's Wonder, and of the Raillery of those who look on themselves as above the People: Some of these Relations are possible, the greater part are false; and there are very few of them certain; or perhaps none of them at all are so.

Here we find Mr. *Saurin* seems inclined to think (as many do) that there is nothing real in what is said of Apparitions, or the Operations of evil Spirits, Witches, and Magicians; but I see not how he should be so inclined, if he kept to what he has laid down before concerning God's Revelation of particular Events; where he says, that those who are for the Negative, cannot maintain it, but either by shewing the Characters of Falshood in the particular Histories on which the Affirmative is established, or by saying, that if a Man is not sure those Relations are false, he is no more sure they are true. And here I must ask Mr. *Saurin*, or any Man else, whether they can shew Characters of Falshood in the foregoing Relations I have given of Apparitions, or say the Truth of the Facts I have instanced, is not fairly insured.

Aventinus, in his *Annals* of *Bavaria*, *l.* 4. gives us the following remarkable Relation concerning an Apparition:

In *Germany*, not far from the Town *Bing*, where the River *Navas* mixes itself with the *Rhine*, there is a Village, commonly call'd *Camont* (*quasi Caput Montium*) a Name given it by the *Romans*, when they possessed that Country, because there begin the Mountains which run along with the *Rhine* towards the North: There, in these our Days, a revolted and roving Spirit has done many strange things, playing prestigiating Tricks, and infesting the Inhabitants. First, this cursed Spirit, seen by no Man, began to throw Stones at Persons, and to knock at Doors.

Doors. Soon after, this peſtilent and wicked *Genius*, taking a Human Shape, gave Anſwers, diſcover'd Thefts, accuſed many of Crimes, and ſet a Mark of Infamy on them, ſtirr'd up Diſcords and Ill-Will among Perſons: By degrees, he ſet fire to, and burnt down Barns and Cottages, but was more troubleſome to one Man than the reſt, always keeping with him wherever he went, and burnt his Houſe; and, to ſtir up the whole Neighbourhood to deſtroy this innocent Man, the wicked Impoſtor openly declared, that for this Man's Crimes the Place lay under a Curſe, and would be unfortunate; ſo that the Man was forced to lie without doors, all Perſons denying him entrance into their Houſes, they looking on him as one follow'd by evil Spirits: He, to ſatisfy his Neighbours, carry'd a burning-hot Iron in his Hand, with which not being hurt, he prov'd his Innocence: nevertheleſs the wicked Spirit burned his Stacks of Corn in the Fields; and as he was daily more and more troubleſome, the Country People were forced to acquaint the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* with it, who ſent Prieſts to expiate and luſtrate the Fields and Villages; which they did with ſolemn Prayers and conſecrated Water and Salt. The wicked and diſturbed Spirit at firſt ſtrove againſt them, and wounded ſome with Stones: but being overpowered by divine *Exorciſms*, and adjured by efficacious Prayers, he at length ceaſed, nor did he any where appear. When the Prieſts were gone, this peſtilent Spirit return'd again, and ſaid, while thoſe bald-pated Prieſts mutter'd I know not what, I lay hid under the *Amiculum* of one of them (whom he named) who, by my perſuaſion, lay the laſt Night with his Hoſt's Daughter. And having ſaid this, the wicked Ghoſt went off with a mighty roaring Noiſe, and left the Country quiet.

An Occaſion being here given, it will not be beſides our Purpoſe to take things a little higher, concerning

cerning the burning-hot Iron, the ſcalding Water, and ſingle Combat, and the expiatory and pretorial Ceremonies uſed on their account: Our Anceſtors being moſt religious Perſons, confided more in God than themſelves, rely'd more on the Divine Juſtice and God's Promiſes, than on their own Wit, or Wiſdom; and rather ſtood to the Divine Decrees, than their own Opinions: They look'd on God as preſent in all Acts and Things done and thought; things were then ratify'd, when the Divine Pleaſure had adjudged them: they concluded that all things were done in the Theatre of Heaven, God looking on them: and therefore in doubtful Cauſes, eſpecially in Crimes which could not be proved by any Human Teſtimony, they fled to the Divine Pleaſure, to the Supreme Majeſty, who could not be deceiv'd, as to an honorary Umpire, and Judge of all things. The Senate, People, and Prieſts, who came in Crowds to ſee a ſingle Combat, as I find in the *Salick-Law*, implored the Divine Aid, they commemorated the Benefits which, on a like Occaſion, our Saviour, through his Benignity and Clemency had conferr'd on them; they minded him of his Promiſes, recited Examples, prayed that his mighty Power would ſhow itſelf on the preſent Occaſion, according to his Promiſe, as it had always done hitherto; and that, according to his Juſtice, he would be preſent to the Innocent, and grant him Victory. Free leave was granted the Accuſed of making choice of, and hireing whom he pleaſed to fight for him, the Accuſer was forced to fight himſelf. I find in the antient Books of Sacrifices, the burning-hot Iron, and the ſcalding-hot Water were conſecrated by the Prieſts with the following Prayers:

God, juſt Judge, ſtrong and patient, who are Author and Lover of Juſtice, who judge equitably; judge, O Lord, that which is juſt, becauſe your Judgments are right; who look on the Earth, and make

make it tremble. You Almighty Lord, who have ſaved the World by the coming of your Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and redeemed Mankind by his Paſſion, do you ſanctify this ſcalding-hot Water, as you preſerv'd the three Children *Sidrach*, *Miſach*, and *Abdenago*, who were caſt into a burning Furnace by the Command of the King of *Babylon*; do you moſt clemently bring it to paſs, that if any Innocent puts his Hand into this Water, it may be drawn out ſafe and unhurt, as you preſerved the three fore-mention'd Children from the Fiery-Furnace, and freed *Suſanna* from the Crimes falſely laid to her charge. But if any culpable Perſon, having his Heart harden'd by the Devil, ſhall preſume to put his Hand into it, let your moſt juſt Piety vouchſafe to declare it, that your Power may be manifeſted on his Body, and his Soul may be ſaved through Repentance.

God, juſt Judge, who are Author of Peace, and judge equitably, we humbly pray you, that you will vouchſafe to bleſs and ſanctify this *Iron*, appointed for making a juſt Tryal of ſome Doubts; ſo that if an Innocent (in the fore-mentioned Cauſe where a Purgation is ſought) ſhall take it Fire-hot in his Hand, he may appear unhurt: and if the Perſon be culpable and guilty, let your Power be moſt juſt in this, by declaring it in him; ſo that Iniquity may not prevail over Juſtice, and Falſhood may yield to Truth, through our Lord, *&c.*

And theſe things were ſo far from being judged impious, that I find thoſe Ceremonies for Purgation were uſed by the moſt holy Pontiffs, the moſt Chriſtian Princes, and by Men and Women conſecrated to the Service of God. That was then to be Wiſe, to truſt in God, to place all our Hope in him. In our Age nothing leſs is practiſed, for it's now look'd upon only as a Folly and a provoking the immortal God to Anger by irritating him: Thus

we ſee, the ſame Fact, in divers Ages, is accounted in one place Piety, and in another Error. So far *Aventinus*.

Now there are many things to be noted in thisRelation : Firſt, as to the evil Spirit's throwing Stones, knocking at Doors, and burning Stacks of Corn, we have had the like Inſtances in *England* and *Scotland*; and there is now a Houſe in *London*, in which, for the three Years laſt paſt, there have been heard, and are ſtill, almoſt continual knockings againſt the Wainſcot, and Over-head ; and ſometimes a Noiſe like telling of Money, and of Mens ſawing, to the great diſturbance of the Inhabitants ; and often Lights have been ſeen there like to flaſhes of Lightning ; and the Perſon who rents the Houſe has told me, that when ſhe has removed eight Miles from *London*, the knockings have followed her.

Secondly, It's remarkable, that the Perſon chiefly concerned in the Diſturbance at *Camont*, put himſelf upon the fiery Tryal for his Purgation, which I do not remember to have met with elſe-where, on the like Occaſion. Thoſe who are unacquainted in the Tryals of *Ordeal*, may have recourſe to ſeveral Authors concerning them. *Bangertus* in his Notes on the *Chronicon Slavorum*, writ by *Helmoldus* and *Arnoldus*, has drawn together many Inſtances of them : In his Notes on the Firſt, he writes, That there occur many Examples of thoſe Tryals from the fifth to the thirteenth Age, and ſome later : And if what *Aventinus* relates, paſt in his own time, it muſt be ſo late as about the Year 1500. for he was born *An.* 1466. and died in the 68th Year of his Age. If there were Truth in thoſe Tryals, and to be relied on, we might juſtly lament our Times.

Heu ! tam præſentes nobis cognoſcere Divos
Non licet.———

But

But *Trithemius* in his *Chron. Hirſang.* tells us, that about the Year 1215. when many Perſons of both Sexes had incurred a Suſpicion of Hereſy, *Conradus de Marpurg*, an Apoſtolical Inquiſitor, put them all, without diſtinction, on the fiery Tryal; but *Trithemius* owns he burnt many Innocents, and ſays, that after he had exerciſed this cruel Butchery till the Year 1233, he was kill'd.

Bangertus examines alſo whence theſe ſorts of Tryals came among the Chriſtians; whether they uſed them in imitation of the *Gentiles*, or of the Divine Rites of the *Jews*, and ſays, they ſeem in the Tryal by Water, to have had a mind to imitate the divine Law of the *Jews*, in *their Cup of Jealouſy*: but the Fiery-Tryal may ſeem to have been derived to them from the *Gentiles*; for the Meſſenger who told *Creon*, King of *Thebes*, that the Body of *Polynices*, which he had order'd, on pain of Death, to be thrown out in the Fields, and lie unburied, was privately buried, (which was done by his Siſter *Antigone*) when he found the King was much incenſed at it, and would excuſe himſelf and his Companions, who were ſet to guard the Body, ſaid, as we find in the *Antigone* of *Sophocles*,

No Man is found who did it, and it is hid to us,
But we are ready both to take a red-hot Iron in our Hands,
And to walk on burning Coals, and to ſwear by the Gods,
That we neither did it, nor had any Knowledge
Of him that either adviſed it, or did it.

And here I may note what *Strabo* writes, *l.* 5. as follows, concerning theſe Tryals: Under the Mountain *Soracte*, ſtands the City *Feronia*, by which Name alſo a certain Goddeſs is call'd, to whom the People of that Country pay a wonderful Veneration, and ſhe has a Temple there with a wonderful ſort of ſacred Myſteries, for thoſe that are inſpired by that God-

deſs, walk with their bare Feet on burning Coals, without being hurt; and a world of People flock there every Year, at a certain time, to ſee this perform'd. Others think the antient Chriſtians introduced the Fiery-Tryal from the Bible ill-underſtood by them; for in the Prayers with which they conſecrated the red-hot Iron, they often referred to the Examples of *Sidrach*, *Miſach*, and *Abdenago*, and God has often manifeſted his Preſence by the Fire, as a thing agreeable to the Deity.

Bangertus concludes thus: Who may not have cauſe to wonder that, tho' the Cæleſtial Deity has given no Command for Mens making uſe of theſe Tryals; yet often by them he has given a Teſtimony of Guilt and Innocency. *Grotius* in his *Prolegomena* to his Hiſtory of the *Goths*, anſwers, That becauſe God was better pleaſed with plain Honeſty, than with nice ſtudied ways of Addreſs, he accommodated his wonder-working Power to the Laws of thoſe innocent People, who ſought to find out the Innocence of particular Perſons by the Touch of fire-hot *Ploughſhares*.

But notwithſtanding God was ſometimes pleaſed to give Teſtimony of Guilt and Innocency by thoſe Tryals, yet all Men were convinced, at long run, that many unjuſt Judgments had paſs'd in them. All the famous Civilians in *Germany* unanimouſly concluded, that in criminal Cauſes thoſe obſcure, divinatory, ſuperſtitious, and indeed, *null* Proofs, did not ſuffice; but Proofs more clear than the Noon-Day, were required, and all the moſt learned Divines, Politicians, Phyſicians, and Philoſophers exploded this mad way of Tryal, calling it a ſuperſtitious Invention, introduced by Satan and credulous hearkeners to him, the Devil's May-game, the ground of dangerous and ſcandalous Tragedies: ſo that, at length, they were totally aboliſh'd.

Thus

Thus we see; that after Christianity had egregiously plaid the fool about a thousand Years, they began to grow wiser, and Men have had fairer Play in criminal Causes; and as Man's Condition is somewhat mended in this respect, it may be wish'd, and I am sorry I cannot say hoped, that all those who administer Justice, as to *Meum* and *Tuum*, in Christian Governments, would seriously consider they are incomparably out-done in that respect by the *Turks*, and the more rational *Pagans*, and would think of some Amendment. I cannot now enlarge on this Subject, but must say, I think Men cannot enough resent those villanous and execrable Abuses daily put on them by the delays of Justice and the Corruptions used in the Administration of it in the generality of Christian Governments:

——*Non hic Arcana revelo,*
Non ignota loquor, liceat vulgata referre.

And as *Aventinus* observes, that what at one time is accounted Piety, at another time is accounted Error, we may consider what Christians, partly by their Policy, and partly by their Zeal without Knowledge, have brought Religion to.

Nunc gerit hanc, aliam Speciem nunc induit anno
Relligio, ad procerum Sensa parata loqui.

This, or that Mask Religion every Year
Puts on, as Rulers whisper in her Ear.

I shall only add one Observation here, *viz.* That as all Men must allow there was a Reality in the forementioned Tryals, both among Christians and Pagans; so that some carried burning-hot Irons in their Hands, some dip'd their Arms up to their Elbows in scalding-hot Water, some walk'd on burning Coals,

Coals, *&c.* without hurt; I ſay, as theſe Facts muſt be allow'd, unleſs we take all Hiſtory for a Ballad, this ſeems to me a ſtrong Proof for the Exiſtence of Spirits, or inviſible Intelligent Beings; and if any Man will be Refractory, and admit thoſe Facts, but deny the Exiſtence of the other, I deſire him to ſhew me wherein the Admittance of thoſe Facts, ſits more eaſy on his Underſtanding, than the Admittance of the other. And ſo I conclude this Work.

FINIS.

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